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# HIGHLIGHTS OF TIBETAN HISTORY

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# FOREWORD

The Tibetans, a nationality of the Chinese nation, number some 3,450,000 according to 1978 statistics. They are the most widely distributed of all nationalities in China and are spread over one-fourth of the country's land area. They live in compact communities mainly in Tibet, an area with a population of 1,700,000. They also inhabit Qinghai, Sichuan, Gansu and Yunnan provinces. The history of the Tibetans, as revealed by archaeological findings, can be traced to the Neolithic period. Leaving myths and folklore aside, Tibetan history, beginning in the sixth century A.D., covers more than 1,400 years. Historical records of the Tibetan nationality in the Tibetan and Han languages deal with varied subjects and are voluminous. In both amount and variety, they rank second only to the historical records of the Hans, the most numerous of all China's nationalities.

The highly developed Tibetan culture is an important component of the Chinese culture and a prized asset in the treasure-house of world culture as well. It embraces numerous writings on literature, history, religion, philosophy and other subjects. Its science and technology (medicine, calendars, architecture, etc.) and arts (painting, sculpture, dancing, etc.) have a distinctive national style and have attained advanced levels. In fact, the Tibetan culture, created and developed over a long period of time by the wisdom and talents of the Tibetan people, has made outstanding contributions to world culture as well as to Chinese culture. It is the pride of

not only the Tibetans but also the whole Chinese nation.

Over the past century scholars of various countries have undertaken comprehensive studies of Tibetan history, language, religion and culture. Some ancient Tibetan documents have been collated and translated. Organizations devoted to Tibetan studies have been established in some countries. All this shows that Tibetan history and culture have become important research projects of modern times.

In China, following the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic, progress was achieved in the study of Tibetan history. However, it was, as in other fields of endeavour, held back by the turmoils of the decade-long "Cultural Revolution" which started in 1966. Now, study has resumed with fresh momentum following the end of the "Cultural Revolution" and it is hopeful of making still greater progress.

The study of Tibetan history, like other subjects in historical studies, should first of all be viewed in relation to the law of social development common to all mankind. The Tibetans have gone through primitive society, slave society and feudal society and finally leaped into socialist society through social reform. This should be explained in the light of the evolution of Tibetans from ancient times to the present. The concrete contents of Tibetan history serve to enrich the illustrations in the history of social development and corroborate the conception that historical development of Tibetans is inseparable from the general law of social development.

Moreover, in studying the historical development of Tibetans, it is necessary for us to relate this subject to the historical development of the Chinese nation. We bear in mind not only the striking features of the historical development of Tibetans. Still more important is the fact that this development has been inevitably



influenced and restricted by development of the Chinese nation as a whole. Since Chinese history has been created by the joint efforts of all nationalities within the boundaries of China, the history of Tibetans as one of the nationalities naturally forms an inalienable component of Chinese history. It provides eloquent proof of the intimate ties between the development of Tibetan nationality and that of the whole Chinese nation. All evolutions and changes that have taken place in Tibetan society are closely related to and inseparable from those of the Chinese nation as a whole.

This book, completed by referring to many works by scholars both at home and abroad, is meant to give an outline of Tibetan history. The authors try to explain, according to the basic viewpoint of historical materialism, factors affecting the historical development of the Tibetans. We present the history chronologically and subject by subject involving the major events and important figures.

We sincerely invite suggestions and comments from our readers to help produce a possible new edition.

*Chapter I*

# ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF THE TIBETANS

The Tibetans call themselves *Bod-pa*, which means "people living in the Bod region". As early as the seventh century A.D., some Tibetans called themsevles *Bod*. It is believed that the name *Bod* is derived from the name *Bon*, an animist religion followed by many of the Tibetans at that time.

At the beginning of the seventh century a strong Tufan Dynasty was established in Lhasa, which was one of the several local dynasties then under the Tang Dynasty. It received honorary titles from the Tang Dynasty and entered into marriage relations with it. The subjects of the Tufan Dynasty were no other than Tibetan nationality in ancient times.

## SOME INTERPRETATIONS

There are several notable interpretations concerning the origin of Tibetan nationality. In ancient Tibetan literature, Tibetans are frequently referred to as the descendants of the six children begot by a monkey who, after being enlightened by the Goddess of Mercy, married a woman demon living in a mountain cave. In connection with this allegation, a story goes that it was at Rtsed-thang (modern Zedang, meaning "flat playground" in Tibetan), a place in Tibet, that the said monkey and his children played together. The cave on

a local hill is said to be the habitat of the monkey's family. Such an interpretation of the origin of Tibetans, while mythical in character, is widely current in Tibet and among the Tibetan communities in Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces.

According to the *New Tang Book*, the *Later Han Book* and a number of other ancient histories in the Han language, Tufans, known as Tibetans in modern times, were descendants of the Xiqiang (or Qiang), the name given to some 150 tribal groups. Of these Faqiang, Tangmao and others are said to have lived on the Qinghai-Tibet plateau as early as the turn of the first century A.D. They were joined at the beginning of the fifth century, or sometime during the Southern and Northern Dynasties (420-589 A.D.) when there were frequent civil wars in the hinterland, by still other tribal groups of Xiqiang and Xianbei who fled the war-torn areas westward or southward to the Tibetan region. All these inhabitants were known in ancient times as Tufans and were ancestors of the Tibetans.

The conception of "Tibetans were just Xiqiangs", while quite common in the Han areas, is evidently taking things in an oversimplified way.

A third interpretation maintains that Tibetans originated in India. This was put forward by some Tibetan monks in their writings when Buddhism became popular in Tibet. To support their argument they alleged that Gnya'-khri btsan-po, forefather of the Tufan royal house, belonged to the same family as Sakyamuni, founder of Buddhism. It was said that both were Indian princes. Gnya'-khri btsan-po later came to Tibet on a divine message, they said, and his line continued for more than thirty generations until it reached Srong-btsan sgam-po, founder of the Tufan Dynasty.

This presumption as we shall prove later is again opposed to truth.



## TIBETANS' ANCESTORS — PIONEERS OF THE "ROOF OF THE WORLD"

While the misleading interpretation of the origin of the Tibetans is varied, there is an assertion common to all. It is alleged that Tibet, located on the "roof of the world", with its harsh climate and vast wildernesses, cannot have been inhabited by human beings in remote antiquity. And so the Tibetans' ancestors could only have immigrated to Tibet from elsewhere.

To clarify this issue, let us take a look at the archaeological findings made in Tibet before and after the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

Human bones unearthed in Nying-Khri (Nyingchi) County in 1958 were identified as belonging to the Neolithic age;

Twenty-seven microliths unearthed in Gnya'-lam (Nyalam) County in 1966 were identified as belonging to the Mesolithic age or a period somewhat later;

The archaeological site, again in Nying-Khri County, where a total of 15 stone artifacts and 100-odd pottery shards were found in 1975, dates back to the Neolithic age;

Five housing sites with more than 600 stone, bone and pottery artifacts unearthed near Karo Village in Chab-mdo (Qamdo) County in 1978 were identified as belonging to the Neolithic age.

All these and other archaeological findings in Tibet indicate that by the Neolithic age, or 5,000 years ago, the Tibetans' ancestors had opened up the land on the Tibetan Plateau and engaged in crop growing, livestock breeding and hunting. Thus, it is invalid to assert that ancient Tibet was uninhabited and the Tibetans' ancestors were immigrants from elsewhere.

In fact nowhere in any reliable historical documents has been found any mention of the lineage existing between Tibetans and Indians. Moreover, as is stated in anthropological literature, the human remains of the

Neolithic age found in Tibet belong to the Mongolian race and are free from such physical features of the Indians of the Aryan race as prominent noses and deep-set eyes.

With regard to culture, the archaeological sites dating back to the Neolithic age that were unearthed in the Tibetan areas reveal that the Neolithic culture of these areas was closely related to that of the interior of China as shown by the variety, substances and shapes of the excavated objects. Linguistically, Tibetan belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family of languages, unrelated to Hindi which belongs to the Indo-European family of languages.

## PLAUSIBLE CONCEPTION

Historically — from the Shang and Zhou Dynasties (1711 B. C.-256 B.C.) to Sui and Tang Dynasties (581-907) — the tribes inhabiting the border areas in China's West were given the general name Xiqiang ("Xi" means west) or Qiang. Some of them were related; others were not. In view of the fact that the land populated by the ancient Xiqiangs included Tibet, it can be said that ancient Tibetans had direct contact with some of the Xiqiangs. Furthermore, according to the part on Tufan in the *New Tang Book*, the Tibetans' ancestors were the Faqiang tribe of the ancient Xiqiangs. As for the Xiqiangs the earliest available mention of them is found in the part on Faqiangs in the *Later Han Book*. Therein it is stated that Faqiangs lived very far from the interior of China in what is now the southwest of Qinghai Province and most of Tibet. In the light of this data, it is plausible that Faqiangs were the direct ancestors of the Tibetans.

However, the formation and evolution of Tibetans as a nationality is by no means the outcome of the activities of a single tribe. Tibetan nationality, spread over what is now the Tibet Autonomous Region and parts of Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan and Yunnan provinces, has



evolved over a long historical process of millennia. It represents the outcome of the prolonged process of intermarriage and association of the Tufans with other tribes, mainly those of the ancient Xiqiangs, populating the western border areas of China.

## DEVELOPMENT

During the seventh century the Tufan Dynasty conquered and annexed various tribal groups, chiefly the Xiqiangs. This led to the unification of the various tribal groups on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau and stimulated a major amalgamation of them and ended the situation in which they lived in a scattered state or in isolation from one another. These tribal groups were to embark on a road of common progress.

When these tribal groups were amalgamated with the Tufans, they no longer existed as independent social groups, but they served to add new elements to the Tibetans as a unitary nationality.

The formation of Tibetan nationality came about not merely through the amalgamation of the Tufans with the various tribal groups. During the zenith of the Tufan Dynasty, which occupied large areas in what is now Gansu and Qinghai provinces and the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region and ruled over millions of Hans and other people, some of these inhabitants were also amalgamated into the communities of the Tufans.

Nevertheless, the major section of Tibetan nationality is descendants of the ancient Xiqiangs, whereas the Hans and other people who were assimilated in the long course of history constituted merely a tiny portion of Tibetan nationality.

*Chapter II*

# KING SRONG-BTSAN SGAM-PO AND PRINCESS WEN CHENG

In ancient Tibet's history there were two famous names. One was King Srong-btsan sgam-po, founder of the Tufan Dynasty, who was well known for his talents and farsightedness. The other was his queen, Princess Wen Cheng of the Tang royal house, who was a pioneer adherent to unity and friendship between Hans and Tibetans and an enthusiastic disseminator of Tang culture.

## MAKING LHASA CAPITAL

Following his enthronement at the beginning of the seventh century in succession to his father, King Srong-btsan sgam-po put down the revolt some nobles launched in collusion with local headmen. Then about 633 he moved the seat of his government to Lhasa on the north bank of Yarlung Zangpo River from Lho-kha (Loka, or Shan-nan) in order to distance himself from the deep-rooted forces of the nobles and headmen, to facilitate his expansion northward and gain an easier access to the advanced culture of interior China. Lhasa, situated in the heartland of Tibet and endowed with a mild climate and ample natural resources, was superior to Lho-kha. It was in Lhasa that Srong-btsan sgam-po began to build his slave society of the Tufans.

Thanks to peace and security achieved following the establishment of Lhasa as capital of the Tufan





Dynasty, the productive forces showed vigorous development. During his reign King Srong-btsan sgam-po promoted agriculture and animal husbandry by water conservation, land reclamation and proper demarcation of land for crop cultivation or stockbreeding. In particular, livestock such as yaks, horses, sheep, camels, hogs and dogs were raised and fixed pastures for autumn and winter stockbreeding were added to the nomadic pasture lands.

Meanwhile such handicraft trades as iron smelting and tanning flourished. Smelting, tempering, whetting and related techniques were so developed that not only highly serviceable weapons were made but chain bridges were built across wide rivers for military use.

Expanded production brought strength to the Tufan Dynasty. It grew so powerful that it was able to annex the domains of neighbouring tribal groups, which were later amalgamated into the Tufans.

## SEEKING CLOSER TIES WITH TANG

During the reign of Emperor Tai Zong (627-650) of the Tang Dynasty, the prosperity, military strength and well-developed economy and culture of Tang had already attracted the attention of King Srong-btsan sgam-po. Several times did he send envoys with gifts of valuables to the Tang court and request marriage relations with a view to enhancing ties with Tang and facilitating his efforts to learn from Tang culture. His proposal was turned down. At last, in 640, as recorded in the *New Tang Book*, he dispatched his prime minister, Mgar stong-btsan, with 5,000 taels of gold and hundreds of jewels as tribute to the Tang court and pressed his appeal. Only then did the Tang emperor grant the Tibetan king's request and promise the marriage of a wise and pretty princess of the royal house, Princess Wen Cheng, to him.

A widely circulated folklore about the marriage goes like this: Before the emperor acceded to the Tibetan envoy's request, he required the visitor to perform five difficult tasks. One of these was to identify the mother and child bond of each pair among 100 mares and 100 colts. Drawing on the Tufan herdsmen's experience, the Tibetan envoy separated the mares from the colts and stopped the supply of feed and water to the young for a whole day. Then he put the animals together again. The young readily recognized its own mother and clung to her side. So the knotty problem was solved. The second task was to make a soft silk thread pass through a pearl with a nine-bend passage within. The clever envoy tied a hair from a horsetail around the waist of an ant and put it into the mouth of the pearl passage. He blew and blew at the creature until it crawled out from inside the pearl. Then he tied the silk thread to the other end of the horsetail hair and so it was easy for him to lead the silk thread through the pearl. With similar wisdom he accomplished the other three difficult tasks. This greatly pleased the Tang emperor. Stories and tales like this of how the Tufan king's marriage with Princess Wen Cheng came about and her life and work in Tufan have passed from mouth to mouth among the Tibetan people to this day.

## INTRODUCING NEW INSTITUTIONS

While a representative of the slave-owning class, Srong-btsan sgam-po was not conservative-minded. He felt drawn to the time-honoured, advanced culture of China's hinterland. Unlike his compeers in general, he was not bent on consolidating his rule by safeguarding the reigning backward mode of production. Instead, he used his powers to introduce the more advanced culture from other peoples, first and foremost the Hans, to help promote the productive forces of his Tufan society.



The development of productive forces paved the way for the Tibeatn king to establish new institutions.

In military affairs the Tibetan king set up a closely knit organization modelled on the Tang pattern. It comprised four *ru* (department) with a total force of 402,400 men. *Qian hu fu* (1,000-household office) which was the lowest unit of the *ru* had both military and administrative responsibilities.

The Tibetan king also instituted an administration based on the Tang pattern. It included a prime minister, a vice-minister and other high officials who took charge of political, court, legal and civil affairs, military intelligence and expeditions.

Under his sponsorship a unified system of weights and measures was worked out. It served to spur the development of trade, notably the exchange of farm and livestock products. It also helped strengthen the economic ties between the various areas under Tufan rule.

The creation of a script for the Tibetan language was completed during the reign of King Srong-btsan sgam-po. It is said that at the beginning of the seventh century the Tibetan king sent a senior official, Thon-mi bsam-bho-ta, to Kashmir and adjacent areas to study Sanskrit and other languages. On the basis of what he learned he devised a script using a phonetic alphabet of 30 letters. But other historians suspected whether or not there existed such a person as Thon-mi bsam-bho-ta. They believed that the creation of a script was the result of combined efforts of more than one person. However, it was during the reign of Srong-btsan sgam-po that the Tibetans began to write books and were able to develop and disseminate their culture.

It was also Srong-btsan sgam-po who laid down a rigorous legal code for the Tufans. It stipulated sharp distinctions of rank between different classes of society, privileges of slave-owners, and severe punishments for

minor offences that included jailing, flogging, nose-cutting, maiming and eye-gouging. But, this would seem natural since he was a ruler from the slave-owning class.

## PRINCESS WEN CHENG'S INFLUENCE ON TUFAN SOCIETY

In 641, Princess Wen Cheng, in the company of Prince Li Daozong, Director of the Board of Rites of the Tang Dynasty, went westward as a bride to Tufan and was greeted on the way at Baihai near the source of the Huang He (Yellow River) by King Srong-btsan sgam-po. Along the way to Lhasa she was given a warm welcome by the Tufan people. After a long trek through rugged terrain, the princess reached the Tufan capital, and the city's inhabitants, dressed in ceremonial clothing, gave her a rousing welcome. A grand wedding ceremony was held in the capital. King Srong-btsan sgam-po said with delight, "My forefathers had no matrimonial bond with the imperial house. Now I'm able to marry a princess from the great Tang Dynasty. I take much pride in this. I'll have architects build in her honour." He kept his word by constructing splendid palaces in Tang style in the city. Their nuptial chamber and their statues are still well preserved in the Potala Palace.

Well-read and talented Princess Wen Cheng, who was keen on helping develop Tufan's economy and culture, brought to Lhasa many books on medicine and productive skills, seeds of grains and vegetables, livestock and exquisite handicraft articles. There is a general belief among Tibetans today that their spinning and weaving techniques were taught by Princess Wen Cheng and that many building skills and medical knowledge were passed on by artisans and those versed in medicine who came to Tufan with her. Stories have been told by Tibetans from generation to generation



about her teaching Tufan women spinning and weaving and about her embroidering Buddhist images. She is also known to have popularized the use of the water-turned grain mill, a sample of which she brought to Tufan. The princess is said to have, even before arriving in the Tufan capital, taught the local people in Yushu, Qinghai, about opening up and cultivating land. A statue of her still stands south of the place.

A follower of Buddhism, Princess Wen Cheng brought with her an image of Sakyamuni, which is still preserved in Lhasa's Jokhang Temple. It was under her influence that the king advocated Buddhism and had the Jokhang built.

Following Princess Wen Cheng's marriage in Tufan, skills in land cultivation, farm tool making, textile manufacture, agriculture, filature, architecture, paper making, wine brewing, pottery, as well as calendarial calculation and traditional medicine were introduced from the hinterland into the area. The introduction of farming techniques such as land levelling, ridge construction across fields and furrow irrigation resulted in greatly increased crop yields.

During the same period groups of Tufan youths were sent to Chang'an, capital of the Tang Dynasty, to study while many learned men were dispatched from Tang to work in Tufan. At this time of frequent cultural exchange between Tufan and Tang, some of the then popular practices of Tufan women, like wearing their hair in a coil or painting their faces ochre, and some traditional Tufan sports such as a game similar to hockey spread to interior China.

Princess Wen Cheng, who died in Tufan in 680, lived in this outlying area of China for nearly 40 years. The episodes of her life are known in the Tibetan region. It is usually with a touch of deference and gratitude that the Tibetans relate these stories as they think the Han princess did a good deal for their land. The places she

is known to have stayed at or passed by are revered as holy sites. Two dates in the year have been designated as festivals in memory of her. In addition considerable space in the Tibetan annals is devoted to the description of her life and work.

Entrusted by Emperor Tai Zong with the task of "blessing the Tufans", Princess Wen Cheng worked untiringly in the interest of unity and friendship between her people and the Tufans. She did a good job in strengthening the political ties between Tang and Tufan, enhancing the economic and cultural exchanges between them and spurring the progress of Tufan society.

## IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN TUFAN AND THE TANG

Following the marriage of King Srong-btsan sgam-po and Princess Wen Cheng, the political relations between Tufan and the Tang Dynasty showed great improvement. In 648 a Tang emissary, Wang Xuance, was attacked on the way to Sindhu (modern India) by an armed gang from there. He withdrew into the Tufan area with his party. At the Tang official's request, King Srong-btsan sgam-po promptly dispatched a contingent of troops which helped rout the marauders. At the same time he sent a tribute to the Tang emperor in Chang'an. The next year when a new Tang emperor, Gao Zong, came to the throne, he conferred on the Tibetan king the office of "Imperial Son-in-Law Governor" with the title of honour "West Sea Prince". Thus honoured, King Srong-btsan sgam-po wrote to the Tang court pledging his allegiance. He stated, "At this time when the new emperor has just ascended the throne, in case somebody has the audacity to launch a rebellion, I will lead my Tufan army and other loyalists to help suppress it." To commend the Tibetan king's loyalty, Emperor Gao



Zong added a new title, "Treasured Prince", to him. Meanwhile he had a stone statue carved of the Tibetan king and placed it at the tomb of Emperor Tai Zong together with other statues of the dynasty's princes, ministers and generals.

When the Tibetan king died in Lhasa in 650, the Tang court sent a general, Xianyu Kuangji, with an imperial edict to the Tufan capital to attend the funeral service.

It should be noticed here that this was not the first time that the Tang court had sent an emissary to Tufan. In 634 prior to Princess Wen Cheng's marriage with King Srong-btsan sgam-po, the Tang court had sent an official to Tufan in appreciation of Tufan's having sent an envoy with a tribute and a pledge of allegiance. From that year until 846, the year the Tufan Dynasty collapsed, it is estimated that there were 191 exchanges of emissaries, averaging one every 13 months. It was to a large extent due to such mutual contacts that the political ties between Tufan and the Tang steadily strengthened.

*Chapter III*

# TUFAN DYNASTY, FROM ZENITH TO DECLINE

## THE MGAR FAMILY IN POWER

Since the seventh century when members of the Mgar noble family became the prime ministers of the Tufan Dynasty, they actually wielded ruling power. One of them, Mgar stong-btsan, was well-known for his meritorious service to the Tufan Dynasty. He had assisted King Srong-btsan sgam-po in making laws and in seeking, on the king's behalf, marriage relations with the Tang court. He became regent when Mang-srong mang-btsan, King Srong-btsan sgam-po's grandson, who succeeded to his short-lived father, was too young to govern.

With the death of Mgar stong-btsan in 667, his grandsons, the Khri-'bring brothers, held positions of power in the Tufan Dynasty for approximately half a century. During this period they improved the dynasty's political structure, carried out expansion by force of arms and subjected many tribal groups to their domination. All this led to substantial growth in Tufan's strength.

In 670 Khri-'bring's forces conquered four strategic towns in Anxi (modern Kuche, Yanqi, Kashi and Hotan, all in Xinjiang, northwest China). This was a great shock to the Tang court since the loss of these places, through which the famous Silk Road passed, meant cutting the communications route from the Tang capital to northwest China and to Central Asia. On Tufan's part the conquest of the four towns, served to deter the rival Qiang tribes





and to give the Tufans a tight control of the levies on the caravans along the trade route. Due to such conflicting interests this conquest led to protracted warfare between the Tang and Tufan. At that time Tufan was at its zenith of military power, surpassing all other national minorities of China in armed strength.

## TWO CLASSES IN CONFRONTATION

There were two sharply opposing classes in Tufan's slave society: the slaves and the slave-owners. The slave-owning class consisted of the royal house and the nobility. Under its domination were slaves and commoners. The slaves were war captives and impoverished commoners who had to engage in farming, stockbreeding or do domestic labour for their owners. Many of the able-bodied slaves were drafted into military service.

The slave-owning class, the royal family and the nobility alike, lived in extreme extravagance and luxury. They maintained their rule by means of barbarous punishments and cold-blooded killings. In many cases commoners were not immune to such treatment.

Tufan nobles, such as the Khri-'bring brothers, carried out armed expansion, pillaged and replenished their slave population with war captives. Internally, they increased requisitioning, the corvee and taxation. This brought untold suffering to slaves and commoners and caused tremendous damage to production.

## END OF THE MGAR FAMILY'S DOMINATION

During the time that members of the Mgar family controlled the Tufan court, they spared no effort to enlarge their domain by pursuing a policy of armed expansion. Both King Mang-srong mang-btsan and his son 'Dus-srong mang-po-rje were minors when they ascended to

the throne. Thus, the ruling power was under the control of members of the Mgar family.

At this time Khri-'bring of the Mgar family and other nobles pursued an expansionist policy to the north. They mustered and trained a sizable force to be put into action. This expansionist policy was opposed to the interests of the royal house which preferred stability. Furthermore, the continuous growth of the nobles' military power and their unruliness constituted a formidable challenge to the royal house's centralized authority.

To turn the tables in his favour King 'Dus-srong mang-po-rje, who had come to the throne as a minor, took drastic measures when he reached maturity. Under pretence of going hunting, he led an expedition to Qinghai where Khri-'bring stationed his forces. In 698 Khri-'bring's army was defeated and he committed suicide. That was the end of the Mgar family's domination of the Tufan Dynasty.

Liquidation of the Khri-'bring clique did nothing to alleviate the class contradictions within Tufan society. Popular uprisings broke out in some places in 705 as recorded in ancient Tibetan annals found in the Dunhuang Caves. Moreover, the power of other aristocratic warlords remained untouched and they continued their independent regimes.

## CONTENTION FOR THE FOUR STRATEGIC TOWNS

The struggle for the control of the four strategic towns in Anxi previously mentioned continued between Tufan and the Tang for more than half a century. In 670 Tufan occupied the towns. In 692 the Tang court sent an army under the command of General Wang Xiaojie to recapture them. But the struggle did not end there. As part of his effort to reconquer the strategic towns, the Tufan king, Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan, in 740 married his daughter to the king of Gilgit, an area in the north of what is now



Kashmir. As Gilgit lay close to the Mingtiegai Mountain pass which led to the four towns, the Tibetan king hoped to gain easier access to these places, as a result of the marriage alliance. Previously Gilgit had given allegiance to the Tang Dynasty, and it was due to the marriage alliance that it defected from the Tang and went over to Tufan. To cope with Gilgit's menace to the Anxi towns, the Tang court dispatched an expedition under the command of General Gao Xianzhi to subdue the defecting vassal. This frustrated Tufan's plot.

## RIVALRIES BETWEEN TUFAN, TANG AND NANZHAO

While contending for the four strategic towns with the Tang Dynasty in the latter part of the seventh century, Tufan took advantage of its rival's unguarded spot and seized the Erhai region in Yunnan Province and the Yanyuan region in Sichuan Province. At the end of the century, however, the Tang government, making use of the heated rivalries between the royal house and the nobility in Tufan, managed to regain the allegiance of the tribal groups in those regions. In 703 soon after King 'Dus-srong mang-po-rje had liquidated Mgar Khri-'bring's forces, he led a large army into the Erhai region. But the next year the Tibetan king died before the end of this expedition. This brought about heavy losses to his forces.

In the first half of the eighth century Nanzhao, a tribal group in the Erhai region with the backing of the Tang Dynasty, brought the whole area under its domination and set up a kingdom, known as Nanzhao. This kingdom gathered strength steadily. In 751 the Tang court sent an expedition to Yunnan and came into conflict with Nanzhao. While putting up resistance the Nanzhao king, Ge-Lo-feng, sought collaboration with Tufan, which at that time had designs on its neighbouring areas. He succeeded in forming a close-knit alliance with Tufan and in

752 accepted a royal title from it. Consequently, Tufan accomplished its long-cherished design on an area that it had previously failed to conquer by military means.

This alliance continued until 794 when the king of Nanzhao, Yi-Mou-xun, reached rapprochement with the Tang court. That was the end of Tufan's supremacy over the northwestern part of Yunnan.

## ANOTHER FAMOUS KING IN TIBETAN HISTORY

When he became king, Khri-srong-Ide-btsan, with the assistance of his lieutenant, Stag-sgra klu-khong, suppressed the rebellion staged by Lang and 'Bal, ministers of his deceased father, King Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan. The two men were condemned to death. According to the memorial to Stag-sgra klu-khong, which records the lieutenant's meritorious service and is still kept in Lhasa, King Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan had been murdered by his seditious ministers Lang and 'Bal.

Although at the beginning of his accession he managed to suppress two opposition heads of noble families, Khri-srong-Ide-btsan was unable to prevent social unrest, popular uprisings and army mutinies. This affected the stability of his dynastic rule. His reign may be described as the turning point in Tufan society's course from zenith to decline.

In 756, the second year of the Tibetan king's accession, an eight-year-long rebellion broke out in interior China. This rebellion, known in Chinese annals as the An-Shi Rebellion, was led by An Lushan, a military governor of the Tang Dynasty, and after his death by his lieutenant, Shi Siming. The Tang court rushed troops, which had been garrisoned in the area adjacent to Tufan, to help cope with the sweeping revolt. On the pretext of assisting in the suppression, the Tufan king sent an army under the command of General Stag-sgra klu-khong to march into the interior, thereby cutting off the link between the four strategic towns in Anxi and the Tang capital of Chang'an. In October 763, taking advantage of the Tang court's preoccupation with the suppression of the rebellion, the Tufan forces stormed their way into the weakly-defended capital. After sacking the city, they turned westwards. In the same year the Tufan king conquered some places in Sichuan and imposed a direct threat to Chengdu, a leading city in southwest China.



## THE RISE OF BUDDHISM

For more than a hundred years, from the seventh century to the latter part of the eighth century, Tufan's slave-owning class, including the royal house and the nobility, pursued a policy of military expansion. Such a policy resulted in sharpening the class contradiction between the royal house, the nobility and the people.

In the face of the class contradiction King Khri-srong-Ide-btsan and several succeeding rulers went to great pains to patronize Buddhism. They attempted to use it as a curb on the aristocrats, who for the most part professed the Bon religion for their own ends. Above all, by advocating the Buddhist doctrines on "paradise", "happiness in next life" and the like, they hoped to persuade the labouring people into forbearance, submission and into giving up their struggle to improve their lot. Evidently, the Buddhist doctrines would serve the interests of the Tufan court better than those of Bon.

In the days of King Srong-btsan sgam-po, Buddhism had not long been implanted in Tufan and the influence of Bon was still dominant in society. It was only by the time of King Khri-srong-Ide-btsan that Buddhism had found a footing in Tufan society. Things took a drastic turn as a result of a set of measures taken by the king to patronize Buddhism while proscribing Bon.

Around 770 the king paved the way for the rise of Buddhism by suppressing the nobles, including re-

markable Stag-sgra klu-khong who opposed Buddhism. He invited famed monks from India and the Tang to Tufan and arranged to have monasteries built for them to preach in. The first of such establishments in Tufan was the Bsam-yas Monastery, construction of which was completed in 779. It was put in the charge of the Indian monks, 'Santaraksita and Padmasambhava, on orders of the king. Beginning in 781 the king invited monks from the Tang to preach on a two-year rotation. While vigorously promulgating Buddhism, he persecuted the Bon religion by banning it outright, destroying its shrines and condemning to death those Bon text writers who plagiarized Buddhist scriptures. All this had disastrous effects on Bon.

Furthermore, the king appointed a monk, Chos-blon, as minister to act as a counterweight to the preponderant influence of the nobility at the royal court. This created a precedent for a monk to intervene in Tufan's political affairs.

By the end of the eighth century, however, class polarization in Tufan society had become even more serious with a glaring discrepancy between the rich and the poor in the possession of property. Unevenness in social development was becoming ever more marked as shown in the fact that large areas under Tufan's occupation, such as Longyou (in modern Gansu Province), had already entered into feudalism and that the slave-owning Tufan society saw elements of feudalism develop steadily within itself. All this indicates that the energetic patronization of Buddhism failed to take the edge off class contradiction as expected.

## RIVALRIES WITHIN THE SLAVE-OWNING CLASS

King Mu-ne btsan-po, successor to his father, Khri-srong-Ide-btsan, likewise spared no effort to patronize Buddhism in an attempt to use it as a means to safeguard



ruling power based on the slavery system. He compelled his subjects, including those nobles who had been Bon followers, to make donations to Buddhist monasteries. He is said to have thrice ordered the equalization of property among his subjects, including the officials. But this step did nothing to eliminate the sharp discrepancy in possession of property which existed in society.

The king deeply offended the nobles by these measures which damaged their economic interests. Consequntly, he was poisoned by his mother, Queen Tshe-sbang-bza' who was of aristocrat origins and who actually stood for the nobility's interests. As conflict became aggravated within the slave-owning class, so did the exploitation and enslavement of the slaves. Meanwhile a considerable number of commoners were reduced to slavery. In a word, the class contradiction and rivalries in Tufan society were steadily worsening by the end of the eighth century.

Khri-Ide-srong-btsan and his son, Khri-gtsug-Ide-btsan, the next two generations of rulers after Mu-ne, also attempted to lessen the class contradiction and suppress the slaves' struggle against social injustices by fostering Buddhism. Beginning with the time of Khri-Ide-srong-btsan, Buddhist monks enjoyed patronage by the Tufan court. Their social status was further enhanced when some of them acted as advisers to the kings. The efforts to foster and utilize Buddhism were at their height in the reign of Khri-gtsug-Ide-btsan. He formulated a ruling by which a person admitted to monkhood should be supported by seven households. He also laid down a law that whoever pointed an accusing finger at any monk was to have it cut off, and whoever stared at any monk with malicious eyes was to have them gouged out. He paid obeisance to monks and built temples and monasteries on a large scale. He put a monk named Ban-de chen-po in charge of political affairs. All this inevitably aroused strong opposition from the nobles who opposed

Buddhism. Some of them murdered the monk official. Then they proceeded to assassinate Khri-gtsug-Ide-btsan in 838 and enthroned his elder brother, Dar-ma.

## PERSECUTION OF BUDDHISM

Dar-ma came to the throne at a time when class contradiction in Tufan society were becoming even more acute. He pursued a line that was diametrically opposed to that of his immediate predecessor. He banned the Buddhist religion, ordered the closure of all Buddhist temples and monasteries in Tufan, compelled all monks to leave the religious order and burned Buddhist scriptures. Such repressive measures enforced in an all-out, sweeping manner stirred heated resentment on the part of the deep-rooted Buddhist forces. Finally, in 842, hardly four years after his enthronement, Dar-ma was assassinated by a revenging monk.

## FALL OF TUFAN DYNASTY

The rivalry between the persecutors of Buddhism headed by Dar-ma and the patronizers of the religion headed by Khri-gtsug-Ide-btsan and his predecessors was on the surface one between Buddhism and Bon. But in essence it represented a struggle within the slave-owning class as regards the adoption of different means to alleviate class contradiction, divert the spearhead of the struggle waged by the slaves and commoners and to safeguard and consolidate their rule. Therefore, to favour one or the other side is not justified.

Following Dar-ma's death the nobles divided into two groupings and, backing his two sons, Yum-brtan and 'Od-srung, contested for the throne. This led to protracted war and brought even greater suffering to the people. Accordingly, the Tufan Dynasty's supremacy over



various tribes began to fall apart and the once powerful Tufan Dynasty, based on the slavery system, headed for destruction.

*Chapter IV*

# TANG-TUFAN PEACE PLEDGE MONUMENT — WITNESS TO UNITY AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN HANS AND TIBETANS

## DESCRIPTION OF THE TANG-TUFAN PEACE PLEDGE MONUMENT

The Tang-Tufan Peace Pledge Monument, also known as the "Maternal Uncle-Nephew Peace Pledge Monument", was erected in Lhasa in front of the Jokhang Temple in 823. Rectangular in shape, it measures some 4.8 metres (15.75 feet) high, 96cm (3.15 feet) wide and 50cm (1.64 feet) thick. Built more than 1,000 years ago, it is in good repair with most of the inscription legible. An important memorial of ancient Tibet, it serves as a historical witness to the unity and friendship between Hans and Tibetans over a space of more than a millennium and points to the close ties between ancient Tibet, as part of the motherland, and the central regime in interior China.

This monument was put up at the close of a peace conference held in Lhasa, the eighth and the last of a series started in 705. It bears the inscription, in both the Tibetan and Han languages, of the written pledge of peaceful and friendly relations given by both parties. In this statement the two parties reiterated the historical relationship of maternal uncle and nephew, as well as their resolve to mind their own lands without harassing





each other. Details concerning the routes by which emissaries from both parties were to travel and how they got their supplies and similar matters are also inscribed there.

The Tibetan people, cherishing this historical relic, have built a solid stone wall around it to protect it. The Chinese government has placed it on the list of China's historical relics for priority protection. All visitors from home and abroad consider it a must to inspect this stone pillar of historical interest.

## FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN TUFAN AND THE TANG

The time from the seventh century to the mid-eighth century was a period of ascendancy for Tufan slave society. During this period Tufan achieved vigorous political, economic and cultural development. At the same time the fine relationship forged by King Srong-btsan sgam-po with the Tang Dynasty was becoming ever better.

In 704 King Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan repeatedly sent emissaries to the Tang capital in Chang'an to seek matrimonial bonds with the Tang court. At last, in 710, Tang Emperor Zhong Zong promised to marry a princess to him. The bride, Princess Jin Cheng, went to Tufan with tens of thousands of bolts of embroidered damask, many kinds of technical books, a complete assortment of household utensils as well as numerous craftsmen, acrobats, musicians and other people with professional skills.

Princess Jin Cheng's marriage with King Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan, like Princess Wen Cheng's marriage with King Srong-btsan sgam-po previously, marks an important event in the friendly relations between Hans and Tibetans. It helped strengthen the political ties between the Tang Dynasty and Tufan. This finds expression in a

memorial from King Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan to Tang Emperor Xuan Zong: "I am a nephew of the deceased Emperor and now I have been honoured with a marriage to Princess Jin Cheng. This shows that we are of one family. I am therefore confident that all people in both of our lands will live in peace and happiness."

On the heels of the Han princess' marriage with the Tibetan king, the advanced culture of interior China was once again introduced into Tufan on an immense scale. This served to stimulate the development of Tufan society further.

By the middle of the eighth century class contradiction in Tufan society had sharpened, bringing the once prosperous slave society to decline. According to historical records in ancient Tibetan which are kept in the Dunhuang Caves in northwest China's Gansu Province, revolts or uprisings of the Tufan people broke out continuously from the end of the seventh century onward. They became still more frequent by the middle of the eighth century. At the same time the rivalries between the royal house and the nobility were increasing. To consolidate its centralized authority, lessen the contradiction between the slave-owners and their subjects, curb the unruly aristocratic generals who were keen on expansionist activity, the Tufan court carried out a policy of peace and mutual trade with the Tang Dynasty. Under this policy it was possible for Tufan and the Tang court to hold as many as eight conferences in a space of a little over a century (from 705 to 822) to pledge peaceful relations between the two sides.

## STORY ABOUT THE ERECTION OF THE PEACE PLEDGE MONUMENT

In 815 when Khri-gtsug-Ide-btsan came to the throne, his monk minister Ban-de chen-po strongly advocated a policy of peaceful relations and normal trade with the



Tang. Several years later, in 821, Tufan sent an envoy, Blon na-lo, to Chang'an to appeal for a mutual pledge of peace. Granting this request, the Tang court promptly appointed a prime minister and other high officials to attend with the Tufan envoy a solemn ceremony in the western suburb of Chang'an to mark the mutual pledge of peace. A stone monument was put up to mark the occasion. (It no longer exists.)

The next year the Tang court dispatched Liu Yuanding and other officials to Lhasa to attend a peace-pledging ceremony presided over by Ban-de chen-po and with the participation of another leading minister, Zhang khri-sum-rje, and some 100 aristocrats and local lords from Tufan. Following the meeting the senior minister, Zhang khri-sum-rje made a special trip to an outlying region in modern Gansu Province where he briefed an assembly of more than 100 army commanders and high officials on the peace agreement and committed them to observing it.

While the peace agreement was designed by the Tufan rulers to blunt the edge of the sharpening class contradiction in Tufan society, it did bring about a brief period of social stability and some development in the economy and culture. On the other hand, the peace efforts conformed to the common aspirations of Han and Tibetan nationalities and promoted the unity and friendship between both.

*Chapter V*

# EVENTFUL YEARS AFTER TUFAN DYNASTY'S FALL; UPRISINGS OF SLAVES AND COMMONERS

## STRIFE BETWEEN ROYAL CONSORTS

Prior to the assassination of Dar-ma, which brought about the fall of the Tufan Dynasty, according to Tibetan annals, a concubine of his had been with child and his queen, in efforts to deprive the prospective child of the right to enthronement, feinted pregnancy. In 843, the second year after Dar-ma's death, his concubine gave birth to a son. Afraid that the jealous queen might steal her child away, she took strict measures to guard it day and night. At night she had numerous candles burnt round her child so that any unusual movement of the candle light caused by an approaching intruder would alert the watchmen on duty. Such measures like this succeeded in frustrating the queen's plot to steal the child. Hence, the child was named 'Od-srung, which means "kept alive by light".

Having failed to steal the child, the widowed queen arranged to buy a boy from a poor family and declared that she had given birth to him. However, seeing that the baby was already developing a number of teeth, everybody was doubtful. But no minister in the court ventured to take exception to the insistent statement by the powerful widowed queen. Hence, the would-be prince came to be known as Yum-brtan, which means "insistence by mother".





## POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO "BROTHERS"

As time went on, Tufan's ruling power fell into the hands of two different factions of nobles who backed 'Od-srung and Yum-brtan, respectively. Yum-brtan, who styled himself as the king, became entrenched in Lhasa with the support of the powerful Mchims family. 'Od-srung, the genuine son of King Dar-ma, was relegated to G.yo-ru (now the eastern part of the Lho-kha region to the southeast of Lhasa). They engaged in long years of hostilities. At the same time Tufan generals in the outlying regions also were locked in armed strife against each other. Under such circumstances tribal groups near the hinterland, who had been subject to Tufan rule, went over to the Tang Dynasty.

Tufan society entered into a period of division in the same way as the Tang Dynasty, which was splitting into Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms.

## TUFAN GENERAL'S POWER BID

Making use of the strife within the royal house, a Tufan garrison commander in Longxi of southeastern Gansu, Blon khung-re, set out to seize ruling power. On the pretext of punishing the Mchims family, which was alleged to have usurped power, he managed to collect an expedition of 10,000 men and in the winter of 842 marched westward toward Tufan proper. Some time later he was met by an army sent by a royal grouping with Yum-brtan as the figurehead. Under the command of General Zhang Si-lo, the army had the support of forces sent by some tribes subject to Tufan rule. By sowing dissension between the royal forces and the tribal troops, however, Blon khung-re caused them to split. This finally led to the defeat of General Zhang Si-lo. The latter was captured and hanged.

## INTERNECINE WAR LAYS WASTE EXTENSIVE AREAS

Victorious Blon khung-re now swelled his military strength to well over 100,000 men by annexing the forces of his defeated foes. Posing a serious menace to his rear on his continued westward advance was a Tufan military governor of Shanzhou (modern Ledu in Qinghai Province) named Zhang pi-pi, who enjoyed high prestige during his long years of office there. Blon khung-re was determined to remove Zhang from his path. Nevertheless, he made light of his foe, a scholar turned soldier, and he thought too much of his increased troop strength. Consequently his forces were entrapped in an ambush by 40,000 men under Zhang pi-pi in September 843. It was a debacle, and he narrowly escaped.

The next year saw Blon khung-re fight back fiercely after regrouping his forces. But he failed to get the upper hand in several battles with Zhang pi-pi. Protracted fighting followed which lasted for more than two decades with destruction for both opponents. Chinese annals record it as a war that depopulated and ravaged vast expanses of land.

During the period of protracted war between the two Tufan generals, a man named Zhang Yichao led an uprising in Shazhou (modern Dunhuang, Gansu Province) in 851 with the support of the local people. They put the Tufan garrison commander to fight. Zhang Yichao sent an emissary with the map of Shazhou and ten other neighbouring commanderies to the Tang capital of Chang'an to give allegiance to the imperial court. Thereupon, he was granted the commandership of Shazhou. From that time on the large area of Longyou in Gansu which had been occupied by Tufan for over a century came under Tang jurisdiction again.



## PLIGHT OF SLAVES AND COMMONERS

The slaves in Tufan society were completely deprived of freedom of person. They were compelled by their owners to do back-breaking labour in agriculture, stockbreeding, and many other jobs like construction of irrigation ditches, houses and royal mausoleums. In war they were driven to bear the brunt of an attack. In normal times they were subject to brutal treatment, nasty forms of manhandling like being herded along with leather strips or cords made of cow hair passing through their shoulder blades to string them together so as to keep them from running away. They were branded on their bodies to identify their social status. Sometimes they were slaughtered as sacrifices at a grand oath taking ceremony.

Like slaves, commoners were subjects of the slave-owning class but on a higher rung of the social ladder. They had an independent economy, yet under the regime based on slavery, they were weighed down with all kinds of taxes, levies and military services. They more often than not ran into debt or became impoverished. They owned a small amount of poor land owing to the incessant forcible appropriation of land by the aristocratic slave-owners. Some of them had to flee their villages to seek a living elsewhere.

Commoners in Tufan society were not a class of their own. The majority of them, except for a handful of well-to-do persons among them, were poverty-stricken. These who had gone bankrupt would degenerate into the status of slaves. Therefore, they as well as slaves usually became active participants in the uprisings against the slave-owning class as is described in ancient Tibetan annals.

## LARGE-SCALE UPRISINGS

The period of Tufan rule based on slavery was replete with struggle of resistance by the slaves and commoners

against the slave-owners, which coincided with power struggle within the ranks of the latter. These struggles sometimes interwove with each other or assumed the form of struggle between different religious sects. At all events the struggle of the slaves against the slave-owners always played a leading role, bringing about radical changes to spur the development of society.

Following the fall of the Tufan Dynasty, which greatly facilitated the staging of people's uprisings, the slaves who had been coerced to work on farming settlements in Gansu and Qinghai took the lead in revolt. They were joined by other labouring people of the localities.

In 857 the slave populations in what are now Linxia and Pingliang in southern Gansu Province started insurrections and rapidly gathered strength, overthrowing Tufan rule by the aristocratic slave-owners and breaking the Tufan enslaving regime's control over various tribal groups. Their success aroused action as far north as Dunhuang on the Silk Road. In the south the insurrection spread into northwestern Sichuan and even penetrated to the valley of upper Dadu River.

In Tufan proper a great uprising by slaves and commoners broke out in 869 in the Khams region (an area embracing modern Chab-mdo, or Qamdo, in Tibet and Dkar-mdzes, or Garze, in Sichuan) which was away from the seat of Tufan rule. Under the command of Dba's kho-bzher-legs-steng, a handicraftsman, the insurrectionary army pushed westward, joined by large numbers of slaves along the route. At this time two big slave-owners, 'Bro and Sbas were locked in the protracted war in the Lhasa region. Taking advantage of this opportune moment, the insurrectionary army swept into the heartland of Tufan rule, putting the slave-owners and their forces to flight.

About this time another insurrectionary force led by Dba's lo-pho-lo-chung arose in Lho-kha not very far from Lhasa. In this region a gigantic irrigation project which



required the slave builders to hew hillsides had been under construction. Inspired by the slogan "Behead the devils, not the hills" they lay down their tools and killed the ringleader of slave-owners. Their revolt swept the neighbourhood with tremendous force. Subsequently they were joined by a contingent of the slave insurrectionists from Mchims-phu (modern Brag-nang in Lho-kha region) and Kong-po to the east of Lhasa.

In one of their campaigns, the insurrectionary army under cover of festival celebrations made successful arrangements on the timing and practical steps of their action. This caught their enemy unawares. Under the slogan of avenging the death of one of their leaders, Bran-kha-dpal-yon, the slave insurrectionists stormed into the slave-owners' citadels, hounded and killed the enemy in large numbers. They shared the spoils on an equitable basis. Their ranks grew speedily.

This resounding victory encouraged action on the part of slaves and commoners in many other parts of Tufan. It struck terror into the hearts of the slave-owning class who described it as "a bird rising into the sky followed by a whole flock".

The storm of revolts by slaves and commoners reached its height when in 877 participators in a revolt led by Shud-pu-steg-rtse dug out or wrecked the tombs of various Tufan kings. The revolt swept the whole area of 'Phying-ba-stag-rtse (modern 'Phyongs-rgyas County).

Such uprisings continued for several decades. During this storm the slave-owners who used to slaughter their slaves in cold blood were now scared out of their wits. Some of them were killed; others fled helter-skelter. Even Prince Dpal-khor-btsan, son of 'Od-srung, could not escape death and was killed in 923. His son, Nyi-ma-mgon, fled with a small retinue far west to the Mnga'-ris (Ngari) region. It was under the impact of such uprisings that Tufan slave society fell apart. The revolution by the slaves overthrew the slave-owning class

and resulted in abolishing exploitation of the slaves and other labouring people by the slave-owners. It pushed Tibetan society a big stride forward, replacing the mode of production based on the ownership of slaves with another mode of production based on feudalism. Thus, the Tibetans embarked on a feudal society.

*Chapter VI*

# FORMATION OF THE FEUDAL SERF SYSTEM IN TIBET

The history of Tibetan feudal society began in the 10th century and by the beginning of the 13th century feudalism had become established in most of the areas populated by Tibetans.

It took the Tibetans roughly three centuries to pass from slave into feudal society. Due to historical reasons the actual transition varied from place to place, and each place had its own striking features in effecting this transition.

## EMERGENCE OF FEUDAL SOCIETY

As is well known, Tibetan feudal serfdom was a reactionary, dark social system characterized by cruelty and brutality. Nevertheless, it was bubbling with vigour during its early years of development. Compared with the previous slavery system, it undoubtedly represented remarkable social progress as well as an outcome of vigorously developing production in Tibetan society and of people's revolution.

Beginning with the 10th century or thereabouts, the area extending from the Mnga'-ris region in western Tibet along the Yarlung Zangpo River, through the Gtsang region with Gzhis-kha-rtse (Xigazê) as its centre to the Dbus region, with Lhasa and Lho-kha as its centre, went through a storm of uprisings by slaves and commoners. Subsequently, the settlements remaining from

Tufan times grew ever larger while new ones emerged in valleys suitable for farming. By that time agricultural productivity had achieved further progress. According to the *Biography of Mi-la ras-pa,** farmers in the major agricultural districts of Tibet had acquired such techniques as intertilling and the use of manure in addition to irrigation and drainage which they had used previously.

Meanwhile, there had been marked progress in the making of woollen fabrics and other handicrafts. Exchange of farm produce, livestock and special products . . . such as food grains and phrug (woollen cloth) from the Dbus and Gtsang regions, cows and sheep from Mnga'-ris, horses from northern Tibet and mules from Kong-po. . . had increased.

By that time the Tufan regime based on slavery had long ago collapsed and there was no centralized local government throughout Tibet. The slave-owning system had also collapsed. The farmers in the settlements consisted chiefly of landholding peasants who had been originally commoners and slaves in Tufan times. Some members of the overthrown slave-owning class became landholding peasants. Others, however, had managed to salvage certain amounts of influence or property and, drawing on their past experience in governing people, were gradually becoming feudal manorial lords, that is, the serf-owning class. Joining this class were some former commoners who, by developing their owner-peasant economy, rose to the serf-owner status.

The new, feudal mode of production brought prosperity to the economy. This was because, firstly, the mode of production in which peasants tilled land of their own, though of small plots, stimulated agricultural development. Secondly, serfs working on manorial estates, unlike the slaves in the past, had greater enthusiasm in production since they possessed a moderate economic

* Mi-la ras-pa was an important figure of the Bka'-brgyud Sect of Lamaism.



undertaking. Furthermore, with the abolition of all the taxes and levies imposed on commoners under the defunct regime based on slavery, people could well open up land to add to their income if they had time and energy to do that.

## EXAMPLES OF MANORIAL LORDS

An example of the rising manorial lords was Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan who lived in the first half of the 10th century in the Bsam-yas of the Lho-kha region. He claimed to be a descendent of King Dar-ma. While a manorial lord, he was also the abbot of the famous Bsam-yas Monastery. He was also a leading advocate of Buddhism's revival.

Another example was Lha-Ide who lived in the latter part of the 10th century at Gu-ge in western Tibet. He was the chieftain of the local feudal forces and also claimed to be descendent of King Dar-ma. In his efforts to propagate Buddhism he granted the noted translator of Buddhist scriptures, Rin-chen bzang-po, three manorial estates.

Both manorial lords were representatives of Tibet's feudal lords using religion to lull the people so as to facilitate the exercising of their rule.

A third example of another type was Mar-pa (1012-1079), founder of the Bka'-brgyud Sect of Lamaism. He came from an owner-peasant family who had both farmland and pasturage. He was also a merchant and frequently went to Nepal, India and other places to deal in gold, and in local and specialized products. As a lama, he taught the doctrines of the Bka'-brgyud Sect that he founded. He demanded that followers who learned Buddhist doctrines from him donate to him all their property. That was in addition to farming, building and other jobs which they did. All this was in the name of "redemption". Actually, he turned many of the devotees into his serfs.

## LANDOWNERSHIP UNDER FEUDALISM

During the period of the transition from slavery to feudalism, a period which began with the 10th century and ended at the close of the 12th century, land could be bought, sold, or given away in the form of a gift, dowry, etc. since land was largely in the hands of the newly emerging owner-peasants who dominated this period. This had been impossible in the previous slave society as all the land at that time was "royal land" and no individual could acquire ownership of land. Therefore, no mention of transactions in land is found in the documents of Tufan times.

In the early part of the 13th century, feudal serfdom was firmly established in Tibet. All the land was owned by the manorial lords and transactions in land were prohibited.

At that time the large majority of the owner-peasants, except for a handful who had managed to become manorial lords, were reduced to serfdom. They were bound to a certain manor and attached to the manorial lord as adjunct to the land. They did back-breaking work in exchange for a tiny plot of land.

## FEUDAL FORCES AND MONASTIC AUTHORITIES MERGE

From the 10th century onward feudal local forces represented by manorial lords in such places as Bsam-yas of the Lho-kha region and Gu-ge in western Tibet went all out to diffuse Buddhism and control noted monasteries so as to consolidate their just established feudal rule. A typical example was Mar-pa, founder of the Bka'-brgyud Sect of Lamaism as mentioned above, who was both a manorial lord and a Lamaist sect hierarch. At the beginning of the 13th century, with feudal serfdom established in Tibet, the manorial lords in various places, donning themselves in religious clothing, merged with monastic groupings. In this way Tibetan polity, based on the merging of religious and secular rule, evolved.



## SERF BONDS TIGHTEN

At the beginning of the 13th century when feudal serfdom began to establish a firm footing in Tibet, land as the chief means of production was already under the control of the serf-owning class. However, the serfs' personal dependence on the serf-owners remained still rather loose. It was not impossible for the serf to seek another manorial lord or move elsewhere. It was only in the middle of the 13th century when the Yuan Dynasty, after unifying the whole of China and setting up a feudal local regime in Tibet headed by the Sa-skya Sect of Lamaism, that the serfs' bonds of personal dependence on the serf-owners began to tighten.

With Tibet coming under the direct rule by the Yuan Dynasty, the independent regimes which had existed for a long period in that area came to an end. This paved the way for Tibetan serf society to develop further.

*Chapter VII*

# EMERGENCE OF LAMAISM AND FORMATION OF ITS SECTS

During the period from the 10th century to the end of the 12th century when Tibetan slave society was moving toward feudalism, Lamaism (or Tibetan Buddhism) made its appearance. Subsequently, a number of its sects were formed. Its emergence was an important event in Tibetan history which exerted widespread, profound influence on Tibetan society.

## VICISSITUDES OF BUDDHISM

Buddhism was introduced into Tufan in the seventh century. It enjoyed a great following under the energetic patronage of the royal house. During the mid-ninth century, however, it suffered a severe setback as a result of King Dar-ma's persecution of the religion. Monks were murdered or forced to leave the religious order. Temples and monasteries were closed down. Buddhist statues and scriptures were scrapped. Despite this persecution Buddhist religion was not wiped out. One of the monks fled to places removed from Tufan rule. Many Buddhist devotees continued secretly to preach the concepts of their faith. It took about a century for the ban initiated by King Dar-ma of Buddhism to be lifted. The religion was revived in the latter half of the tenth century.





## REASONS FOR THE REVIVAL OF BUDDHISM

The historical reason for the revival of Buddhism can never be overlooked. After more than two centuries of existence and development, the religion had secured a solid foothold in Tufan society. By the middle of the ninth century, the Buddhist monkhood had a prestigious position socially and enjoyed material support by the people and freedom from corvee and taxation. Politically, some even held power in the royal court. An influential grouping formed by monks had obviously been established in Tufan society despite strong opposition to Buddhism on the part of the powerful nobility who had patronized the Bon religion. The influence exerted by the Buddhist forces, which once dominated Tufan politics and economy, should be considered an important social condition for the revival of Buddhism.

Secondly, the need of the ruling class for a religion as a means to lull the people should also be taken into account. When the Tibetans entered into feudal society after the beginning of the 10th century, it did not take long for the small-scale peasant economy operating in various places to be replaced by feudal manorial economy. The manorial lords were badly in need of consolidating their recently established system of feudal exploitation. And they knew from their past experience that Buddhism could be made use of to acheive their purpose. (In fact, most of them came from the slave-owning class which had in their days profited by patronizing Buddhism.) That was the reason why they worked hard to revive Buddhism. The development of events showed that the Buddhist concepts based on fatalism and idealism could lull the people in their struggle for justice and a decent livelihood and thus serve the interests of feudal serfdom, a system based on oppression and exploitation.

Thirdly, the mass of people with their views limited by their historical background were in need of a religious

faith. By that time they had suffered over a century of destructive warfare; they all longed for a peaceful existence and a respite to build up a decent life. Therefore, Buddhist conceptions of peace, opposition to war, "western paradise" and so on, found a response in their hearts. Furthermore, the revived version of Buddhism, which was tinted with the colour of Bon, their traditional religion, was easily acceptable to them.

At that time monastic authorities usually worked together with local feudal forces to control all cultural spheres as well as the local economy. This made it all the more difficult for the mass of people to be disengaged from religion.

## BUDDHISM VERSUS BON

For more than two centuries during the Tufan Dynasty, the struggle between Buddhism and Bon never ceased. It brought profound change to both in the process. Even in the century following the fall of the Tufan Dynasty, the process of mutual assimilation continued. Each became closer to the other. Termination of this process was indicated by the rise of Lamaism, a new school of Buddhism, in the latter half of the 10th century.

Compared with Buddhism that existed in Tufan for more than two hundred years before the middle of the ninth century, Lamaism showed marked differences. It was the product of prolonged struggle between Buddhism and Bon and of their mutual assimilation. As it preaches the same doctrines as Buddhism while in form absorbing many elements of Bon, it is a local version of Buddhism. Therefore, it should formally be called "Tibetan Buddhism".

To struggle for existence, Bon had to adapt to the needs of the society to which it attached itself. In concrete terms, as the society was steadily inclined toward Buddhism, Bon began to remould itself in the image of



Buddhism. Consequently, some Buddhist scriptures were rewritten into Bon scriptures. Bon priests became monks. In a word, the differences between Bon and Buddhism grew less. With a few genuine Bon monasteries located in remote places, Bon could hardly match Buddhism in influence.

## EMERGENCE OF LAMAISM AND ITS DIFFUSION

In 978, in utilizing Buddhism to help tighten his feudal rule, a rising manorial lord, Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, who lived in the Lho-kha region, sent a ten-man group headed by Klu-mes tshul-khrims shes-rab on a pilgrimage for Buddhist scriptures to Mdo-khams (modern Xining in Qinghai Province). Meanwhile, he had a large number of temples and monasteries built or rebuilt in Dbus and Gtsang. All this shows his efforts to initiate a campaign for the revival of Buddhism. Thus, Tibetan Buddhists usually take 978 as the year of Buddhism's revival.

About the same time a major effort to revive Buddhism was made by Ye-shes-'od, a rising manorial lord. He was a monk in Gu-ge of western Tibet and claimed to be a descendent of the Tufan royal house. Under his sponsorship a party of pilgrims was dispatched to India and Kashmir to study Buddhist scriptures. He also invited a number of monks from India and other areas, including the well-known Indian teacher Atisa, to preach Buddhism in his area.

While resembling any other religion in class society in serving the interests of the dominating social system, Lamaism had its own striking feature as manifested mainly in the fact that it was closely associated with local political and economic interests. That is to say, the chieftains of the local feudal forces, apart from patronizing Lamaism and making it serve their own ends, often acted in the capacity of lama. This practice of concen-

trating ruling power, economic exploitation and theocratic authority in the hands of a single person was the origin of Tibetan political system under which secular and ecclesiastical administration merged.

## FORMATION OF LAMAIST SECTS

No sect of Lamaism existed in the latter part of the tenth century. This is chiefly because at that time the feudal economy was still in a scattered state and the forces of the feudal manorial lords rising in various parts of Tibet were not yet strong enough. Another reason can be sought in the religion itself. At that time there was still a shortage of Tibetan translations of Buddhist scriptures while the Lamaist doctrines and their study were not yet systematized. This made it difficult for the birth of different sects.

With further development of feudal Tibetan society in the mid-11th century, manorial lords in various places had steadily consolidated their ruling power and had increased strength to contest for power among themselves. At the same time the Lamaist groupings manipulated by various manorial lords began to acquire sectarian tendencies. This accounts for the formation of the Lamaist sects one after another.

In essence, there was little difference between the Lamaist sects except that they differed in the depth of understanding of the Buddhist concepts as well as in interpreting them.

## MAJOR LAMAIST SECTS

In effect, the formation of Lamaist sects is a reflection in the religious field of the ascendancy and development of Tibetan feudal society. A brief account of the major sects follows:

**Bka'-gdams Sect.** One of the earliest Lamaist sects,



Bka'-gdams (meaning "commandments") was founded in the mid-11th century by a wealthy man, 'Brom-ston-pa (1005-1064), who lived in Stod-lung in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. In 1045 he invited the noted Indian monk, Atisa, who was preaching in Mnga'-ris, western Tibet, to his area to preach as well as to teach him. After the Indian monk's death, he preached in Rva-sgreng in the upper reaches of the Lhasa River and had a monastery built there. Using the monastery as his base, he gradually brought the Bka'-gdams Sect into being.

Since its inception this sect rapidly grew in strength with temples and monasteries established in all parts of Tibet. In view of its failure to gain control of the administrative power of any particular area, it fell far behind other sects, like Sa-skya and Bka'-brgyud, in political influence.

The noted monk Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419) founded the Dge-lugs Sect, or the Yellow Sect, at the beginning of the 15th century. Subsequently, it incorporated the monasteries of the Bka'-gdams, and as a result, the latter sect no longer existed as an independent body.

**The Sa-skya Sect.** This sect was founded by a rising manorial lord Dkon-mchog rgyal-po (1034-1102) in the Grom-chu Valley southwest of Gzhis-kha-rtse (Xigazê). He claimed to be a descendent of an aristocratic 'Khon family of the Tufan Dynasty. In 1073 he built a monastery at his birthplace where he disseminated Lamaist teachings and trained monks. His following gradually developed into the Sa-skya Sect. "Sa-skya" means "grey soil", and the name was derived from the assertion that the soil of the Sa-skya Monastery was grey in colour.

Dkon-mchog rgyal-po as abbot of the Sa-skya Monastery was succeeded by his son Kun-dga' snying-po. These two and the three subsequent successors to the post

of abbot came to be known as the "Five Forefathers of Sa-skya". Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, the fourth successor is known to have been the first person to effect political connection between Tibet and the Mongol royal house. He is also the author of *Sa-skya's Mottoes*, a well-known Tibetan literary work. The fifth successor, 'Phags-pa, had the honour of being appointed the first "Imperial Tutor" of the Yuan Dynasty and granted the title of "Great Treasure Prince of Dharma".

Sa-skya was one of the most influential Lamaist sects in Tibet. During the Yuan Dynasty it enjoyed many political rights in the government, both central and local. Before the fall of the Yuan Dynasty in the middle of the 14th century, the local government the Sa-skya Sect had established was taken over by the Phag-gru Bka'-brgyud Sect. However, it remained a strong sect in which the 'Khon family held sway from generation to generation. Up until the eve of the 1959 Democratic Reform in Tibet, it had the powers of a local lord.

**The Bka'-brgyud Sect.** This sect derived its name from its major teaching method of oral instruction, "Bka'-brgyud" meaning "oral instruction in Buddhist concepts". It had two branches, Dvags-po Bka'-brgyud and Shangs-pa Bka'-brgyud, and numerous sub-branches. Here we will chiefly deal with the former branch. The latter was weak and had insignificant impact on Tibetan society.

Dvags-po Bka'-brgyud of the Bka'-brgyud Sect was founded by Dvags-po lha-rje (1079-1153). He established the Sgam-po Monastery in the Dvags-po region which was the first monastery to be built by this branch sect. His four disciples each established a sub-branch of the sect.

The most influential of these sub-branches was Karma Bka'-brgyud, founded by Dus-gsum mkhyen-pa (1110-1193). This branch sect initiated the system of reincarnating Living Buddhas, which has been operative since the 13th century.



This system was designed, with the development of the monastic economy, to find a successor to the leadership of a monastic grouping. In the Karma Bka'-brgyud branch sect there used to be two different chains of reincarnating Living Buddhas — the Black Hat Line and the Red Hat Line. They maintained close relations with the central government of the Yuan Dynasty. In the Ming Dynasty the imperial court granted the highest title for a Lamaist hierarch — "Great Treasure Prince of Dharma" to a Living Buddha of the Black Hat Line. The chain of reincarnation for this line has continued to the present, with the Mtshur-phur Monastery northwest of Lhasa as the leading monastery. On the other hand, the chain of reincarnation for the Red Hat Line broke off at the end of the 18th century.

## LAMAISM BOUND UP WITH SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The formation and vigorous growth of Lamaist sects took place at a period when Tibetan feudal society came into being and developed. But after the establishment of the Yellow Sect at the beginning of the 16th century, not a single new sect appeared. This was because Tibetan feudal society had begun to decline by the mid-16th century.

History shows that a vigorous development in culture follows on the heels of an important socio-economic change. Thus, when Tibetan society was rapidly moving from slavery toward feudalism in the latter part of the tenth century, Buddhism, as an aspect of culture, was revived in its Tibetan form — Lamaism. The emergence and flowering of different Lamaist sects followed. Hence, it can be seen that Lamaism was intimately related to the Tibetan feudal economy.

### IMPACT OF LAMAIST SECTS

In many cases each of the monasteries established by the Lamaist sects formed a cultural centre. Large or small towns where agriculturists and herdsmen exchanged their products rose in their vicinity. The monastery served more or less to stimulate the development of culture and the economy.

The manorial lords, who were also hierarchs, chose to establish their monastery at a farming or stockbreeding centre or along an important trade or communications route. In this way they were able to support a large number of monks.

### STRIFE BETWEEN SECTS

Lamaism became closely knitted with the rising feudal class of manorial lords as soon as it developed in Tibetan society. When its sects were formed, they were separately manipulated by the local feudal lords in different places. What is known in Tibetan history as strife between the sects is in essence strife between the local manorial lords, themselves lamas. Such rivalries between even the branches or sub-branches of the sects used to culminate in armed warfare. This continued for 600 years . . . until the middle of the 17th century . . . when the monastic grouping of the Yellow Sect gained domination over Tibetan society.

*Chapter VIII*

# YUAN DYNASTY'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE TIBETAN AREAS

### HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MONGOLS' UNIFICATION OF CHINA

Following the fall of the Tang Dynasty (618-907) China went through a period of confusion and division which lasted for more than 300 years. At the beginning of the 13th century, the Song Dynasty in the south was at loggerheads with the Jin Dynasty established by the Nüzhens in the north. In the northwest there existed two regimes called Xixia (Tangut) and Uygur. A Dali Dynasty, established mainly by Yi nationality, held power in the southwest. Meanwhile, the Tibetans were also under separate regimes. Beginning with 1206, however, the Mongols in the north, who had risen as a military power, began unifying the country by force. In the brief space of half a century, they succeeded in subjugating the independent regimes and local forces, thus bringing the people of all nationalities under a central government. This unification of the whole nation conformed to the advance of history and the desire of all nationalities. From then on the political relations between the Tibetan areas and the hinterland and the economic and cultural exchange between the Tibetans, Hans and other nationalities began to improve.

## HOW GENGHIS KHAN DEALS WITH TIBET

In 1206 the leader of the Mongol army, Genghis Khan, founded a Mongol empire. In the same year he led his army to march on Xixia in the northwest, reaching as far as the Qaidam Basin of Qinghai. By that time the Tibetans in various parts of Gansu and Qinghai had given allegiance to the Mongols. In dealing with the Tibetans in Tibet proper, he adopted a policy of appeasement. That year he wrote to the Grand Lama of the Sa-skya Sect stating that he respected Lamaism and was willing to be a convert. In addition he expressed his desire to invite lamas to Mongolia to preach.

Some time later Genghis Khan again wrote from Qinghai to the Sa-skya Sect. An epistle from the leader of a formidable military power of widespread fame was a shock to the local forces in the various parts of Tibet. Ceasing their rivalries for the time being, they decided to send two representatives to Qaidam to interview Genghis Khan, offering to give allegiance and tribute. The Mongol leader accepted their request and refrained from sending troops into Tibet, leaving his army free to engage in conquests elsewhere. That marks the beginning of the Tibetan local forces submitting to Mongol military power.

## EMPLOYING PEACEABLE MEANS TO EXERCISE RULE OVER TIBET

In 1239 the Mongol Prince Go-dan, grandson of Genghis Khan, sent a military expedition under the command of General Dor-rta nag-po from Liangzhou (modern Wuwei in Gansu Province) into Tibet. He pushed to the vicinity of the Rva-sgreng Monastery north of Lhasa. After learning of the close collaboration between the local forces and Lamaist sects, the Mongol general wrote back to Go-dan suggesting that Sa-pan Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan, a learned, high priest of the Sa-skya



Sect, be invited to Liangzhou for discussion. This suggestion met with approval.

## SA-PAN'S PEACE MISSION

Sa-pan (1182-1251), the fourth abbot of the Sa-skya Monastery, who was well known for his learning among all Lamaist sects, accepted the Mongol leader's invitation. In 1244 he started from Sa-skya and stopped at Lhasa to hold talks with local chiefs on problems related to giving allegiance to Mongolia. He arrived at Liangzhou in 1246 but it was not until the next year that he met with Go-dan, who had been in Mongolia until then. Their talks led to the establishment of political ties between Tibetan local forces and the Mongol royal house and to the Sa-skya Sect's acquisition of a dominating position in Tibet.

During his stay in Liangzhou, Sa-pan is said to have cured Go-dan of a severe illness. This made the Mongol leader grateful and is supposed to have contributed to the success of their negotiations.

Having come to terms with Go-dan regarding Tibet's submission to Mongolia, Sa-pan sent an open letter to the Tibetan temporal and secular leaders in the various localities to persuade them into submitting to the Mongols according to the terms he had reached with the latter.

This letter, the full text of which is carried in the *Sa-skya gdung-rabs* (*Sa-skya's Lineal Descriptions*), cited facts to show that submission to Mongolia would be in step with the general trend of events. It admonished its readers to weigh pros and cons and refrain from taking chances. It stated that Tibet had become a vassal territory of Mongolia and that the Mongol leader Go-dan had appointed Sa-skya and other officials to help govern Tibet. Those local chiefs willing to give allegiance, it added, should each make a set of detailed lists of their officials, troop strength and tribute to be offered. Three

copies of this list should be made: one for Go-dan, one for Sa-skya and one to be kept by the local chief concerned. All officials accepting this arrangement were to keep their original posts; those refusing were to fall a victim to the Mongols' punitive campaign.

The letter also dealt with the various systems prescribed for Tibet, including those concerning the appointment of officials and the payment of tribute and taxes. These systems were to form the basis of the Yuan Dynasty's administration of Tibet.

## SA-PAN'S ROLE IN UNIFYING CHINA

Sa-pan played a great role in unifying China in the middle of the 13th century. Despite the fact that he was over sixty, he braved a thousand miles of hazardous journey and worked hard to forge direct political connection between Tibet and the Mongol royal house. It was through his mediation that the Mongol royal house refrained from mounting armed attack on Tibet while the latter saw no need to organize armed resistance. This ensured a normal life for the Tibetans and enabled the Tibetan feudal economy to continue developing.

Sa-pan was a man of firm character. Adhering to his political stand, he went to great pains to overcome what he considered mistaken ideas. Until his death in Liangzhou he devoted a good part of his life to the cause of national unification. It goes without saying that he meant to safeguard the interests of his own class — the manorial lord class. His well-known work *Sa-skya's Mottoes* reflects the privileges of his class. Nevertheless, as a historical figure, he did play a significant role in reunifying Tibet with the rest of the Chinese nation.

## RELIGIOUS LEADERS HELP ADMINISTER TIBET

In 1251 Tibet became part of the principality of Kublai when his brother Monge Khan ascended the throne. The



next year he led a military expedition against Dali by way of the eastern part of Khams (now in a Tibetan autonomous prefecture of Sichuan Province). At that time the local chiefs in the Dbus and Gtsang regions reaffirmed their submission to Kublai. The Mongol prince planned to continue Go-dan's policy of using a religious leader to help govern Tibet. He invited 'Phags-pa (1235-1280), nephew of the deceased Sa-pan and the new leader of the Sa-skya Sect, and Karma pakshi, leader of the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect, for an interview with him. Both sects were very influential in the Tibetan areas.

The two religious leaders were granted an interview by Kublai in 1253. Karma pakshi left to seek the patronage of Monge Khan, who bestowed a gold-brimmed black hat on him. This ushered in a chain of reincarnating Living Buddhas of the Black Hat Line under the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect.

Since 'Phags-pa was loyal to Kublai, the Mongol prince considered him an appropriate agent for governing the Tibetan areas. He was respectful and preferential to him while relying heavily on his service.

At his accession to the throne in 1260, Kublai granted 'Phags-pa title of "Imperial Tutor" as well as a jade seal symbolic of powers. When he moved his capital from Shangdu (modern Duolun in Inner Mongolia) to Beijing, he put the Tibetan hierarch in charge of the newly-established Zong zhi (General) Council, a body that handled Buddhist affairs of the whole nation and the local administration of the Tibetan areas. Thus, 'Phags-pa became a high official in the central government.

## 'PHAGS-PA'S CONTRIBUTIONS

In 1269 'Phags-pa, on orders of Kublai Khan worked out an alphabetical scheme of annotation for the Mongolian language. In recognition of this service, he was

granted an additional title, "Great Treasure Prince of Dharma". Later he was honoured with the posthumous title of "Imperial Tutor of the Yuan Dynasty". Moreover, many of his family members and disciples were given government posts at various levels.

Though a religious leader, 'Phags-pa played a role in strengthening the relations between Tibet and the central government in the hinterland and in promoting the cultural exchange and friendly contacts between Tibetans, Hans and Mongols. As for the language scheme he devised, although it was later replaced by another scheme basd on the Uygur alphabet he was admired for his service.

## ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS SET UP BY YUAN DYNASTY IN TIBETAN AREAS

In 1288 Zong zhi (General) Council was renamed Xuan zheng (Political) Council. Under this organization were three Pacification Commissioner's Offices administering the country's Tibetan areas. One administered chiefly what is now the Tibetan areas in Gansu and Qinghai provinces and the northern part of two Tibetan autonomous prefectures in Sichuan Province. Another administered chiefly what is now the major part of the two prefectures in Sichuan Province and part of the Tibet's Chab-mdo region. The third governed Dbus, Gtsang and Ngari in Tibet.

Under the jurisdiction of the first two offices, some places adjacent to the hinterland were administered by officials appointed by Shaanxi or Sichuan provincial authorities and were subject to their removal. In places where Tibetans lived in compact communities, the Yuan Dynasty set up official posts of various levels to take charge of local military and administrative affairs. These officials from the *wan hu* (meaning "10,000 households") downwards were chosen from among the laity and monkhood in the upper strata and their posts were hereditary. Such officials became local lords as time went on.



Under the Third Pacification Commissioner's office in Tibet, the Yuan Dynasty appointed two marshals in Ngari to handle military affairs but allowed the local chiefs to continue to govern their subjects. Another two marshals were appointed in Dbus and Gtsang to take command of the Mongol garrison troops and some *wan hu* and *qian hu* (meaning "1,000 households") offices were established to handle civil administration or in some cases military affairs as well. At Sa-skya the Yuan Dynasty set up a dpon-chen (meaning "high official") who was nominated by the Imperial Tutor and appointed by the emperor. His duties were to assist the Pacification Commissioner in governing the Dbus and Gtsang regions. (Sometimes, however, the Pacification Commissioner acted as a dpon-chen concurrently.) In addition, an official was appointed to look after post and communications with the hinterland.

In a word, all the high officials from the *wan hu* to Xuan Zheng Council were nominated by the Council or the Imperial Tutor and appointed by the emperor. They were either temporal or ecclesiastical and took charge of both civil and military affairs. This practice of appointing both lay and monk officials persisted until it became a system of the local feudal regime based on an amalgamation of temporal and spiritual government.

## CENSUS TAKING

In 1260, the year of his accession to the throne, Kublai Khan sent out a party of officials headed by Ta-men to take a census in Tibet and other Tibetan areas through which they passed. This was the first census carried out by the Yuan Dynasty in the Tibetan areas.

During the census taking the Yuan officials set up a total of 27 post stations along the route to Sa-skya in

Tibet proper. They stipulated that the inhabitants along the route should undertake to transmit government papers, supply horses for the post service and provide board and lodging for the officials passing by. That was the origin of Tibetan society's *ula* (unpaid labour) system.

A second census took place in 1268 when Kublai Khan dispatched A-kon, Mi-gling and other officials to cooperate with a Tibetan official, Dpon-chen Shakya bzang-po. Carried out with comparative accuracy, the census covered the 13 *wan hu* in the Dbus and Gtsang regions in Tibet.

Following this census the Yuan court authorized the Tibetan official to appoint heads for the 13 *wan hu* and determine the kinds and amounts of the tribute each *wan hu* should pay. Thus the Yuan Dynasty shaped local administrative structure for Tibet.

A third census was carried out in 1287 by Do-su-a-nu-gan, Ar-mgon and other Yuan officials. On the basis of this census, some existing post stations or sub-stations were closed down and new ones established. For instance, four new post stations were established in the Ngari region. Furthermore, a new kind of post station for military use was established.

## YUAN DYNASTY'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER TIBET

The taking of the censuses was an administrative measure which testified to the sovereignty exercised by the Yuan Dynasty as the central government over Tibet and other Tibetan areas. The establishment of the post stations in these areas is another proof. In addition, the Yuan Dynasty's criminal law codes and calendar were put into effect in these areas and the Yuan court had direct powers in promoting, demoting, rewarding and punishing local officials. So we can see that the Yuan



Dynasty exercised overall administration of the Tibetan areas and that it enjoyed full sovereignty over Tibet.

The unification of all Tibetan areas, including Tibet, by the Yuan Dynasty and its exercising of the powers of central authorities were, in effect, the result of continual development of friendly contact between the Tibetans and Hans, a contact which had existed since very early times. They were made possible because of the close political, economic and cultural ties which had been forged since the seventh century. With the unification of the whole country, the Tibetan areas changed from being scattered to a situation of unification and relative stability. This substantially contributed to the Tibetans' joining the other nationalities of the Chinese nation in taking the road of common progress and to the development of Tibetan society's culture and economy.

In appraising the Yuan Dynasty's administration of the Tibetan areas, it should be observed that the policies pursued by the Yuan Dynasty were in essence means of ruling over and repressing the mass of Tibetan people. At the same time, however, we cannot write off the far-reaching, positive effects of the Yuan Dynasty's administration of the Tibetan areas on Tibetan society in various spheres of endeavour.

*Chapter IX*

# MING DYNASTY'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE TIBETAN AREAS

The Yuan Dynasty spurred the development of Tibetan feudal society by bringing all the Tibetan areas under its centralized government. Subsequently the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), through its administration and policy, brought Tibetan society a long period of relative stability. As a result the economy and culture under the Tibetan feudal system flourished as never before and the Tibetans' relationship with other nationalities of the Chinese nation improved.

Zhu Yuanzhang, the first emperor of the Ming Dynasty, ascended the throne in 1368. The next year he dispatched officials to the Tibetan areas with an edict that all lay and monk leaders were to give allegiance to the Ming imperial court. With regard to institutions, he did practically nothing to alter those which the Yuan had set up; he only made change in the names of institutions. He cancelled the seal of authority issued by the Yuan to Tibet and replaced it with a new one.

## GRANTING OFFICES AND TITLES

In carrying out a policy of pacification, the Ming Dynasty granted various new offices and titles of honour to officials and dignitaries in the Tibetan areas.

In 1370, after capturing Hezhou (modern Linxia in Gansu Province), the Ming court set up a Hezhou commandery there and let the original Pacification Commissioner of the Yuan, Bsod-nams bu, who had had his headquarters there, retain command. This position was then made hereditary.





In 1371, after the fall of the Yuan, a Mongol Prince, Punala, who had governed Tibet as a fief granted by the Yuan court, came to Nanjing (Nanking) to show his allegiance by paying tribute to the Ming court. The Ming emperor withdrew his seal of authority which had been conferred by the Yuan court and appointed him governor of Tibet.

The next year an acting Imperial Tutor, Rnam-rgyal dpal-bzang-po, of the fallen Yuan Dynasty, also offered his allegiance to the Ming court. The Ming emperor conferred the title of "State Tutor" on him together with a jade seal of authority. The high Lama then recommended more than 100 Yuan appointed officials in the Dbus and Gtsang regions be reappointed. The Ming emperor gave his approval.

From that time on many local officals, lay and monk, in the Tibetan areas came to the Ming capital of Nanjing to request reappointment and to receive various offices. And so the Ming Dynasty placed all the Tibetan areas under its centralized government.

## ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS FOR THE TIBETAN AREAS

The Ming Dynasty at first set up a commandery in Hezhou to govern all the Tibetan areas. Then it reorganized the commandery into two, which carried out the same functions. One was the Mdo-khams commandery which governed the Tibetan Amdo area. Xining was its centre. Under this commandery, as in Yuan times, an administrative apparatus of various levels down to the lowest levels of *wan hu* and *qian hu* was established. Officials at the various levels were mainly local lay and clerical chiefs, and their posts could be passed on from

father to son or from monk to disciple. They were required to fulfil specified feudal duties.

The other commandery was the Dbus-Gtsang commandery whose jurisdiction covered the major part of modern Tibet. Meanwhile, the Ming court continued to recognize the administrative power which was already in the hands of the Phag-gru Bka'-brgyud Sect of Lamaism.

## RELIGIOUS POLICY

Like the Yuan, the Ming pursued a policy of patronizing and using Lamaism in governing Tibet. The difference was that instead of keeping an eye on the Sa-skya Sect alone, as was the practice of the Yuan, the Ming conferred honorific titles on the leaders of all the influential Lama sects.

The highest title conferred was "Prince of Dharma" whose holder was bound by the imperial edict of the Ming court to execute local powers, be loyal to his official duties and govern the people. Three such titles were given: "Great Treasure Prince of Dharma", "Great Vehicle of Dharma" and "Great Mercy Prince of Dharma".

Of these three titles the highest, "Great Treasure Prince of Dharma", was conferred upon De-bzhin bshegs-pa, the fifth incarnation of Living Buddha of the Black Hat Line of the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect. It was the most influential Lama sect of that time. He came to Nanjing in 1406 at the invitation of Emperor Yongle and received that title the next spring. Several of his disciples were given the titles of "Grand State Tutor" and "State Tutor".

The title of "Great Vehicle Prince of Dharma" went to the Sa-skya Sect. In 1413 a monk of the Sa-skya Sect, Kun-dga' bkra-shis, grandson of Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan who was "Imperial Tutor" of the Yuan Dynasty, came to



Nanjing at the invitation of Emperor Yongle. That year he was granted that title with a treatment and a status only slightly inferior to those of the "Great Treasure Prince of Dharma".

The title of "Great Mercy Prince of Dharma" was conferred upon the Yellow Sect, which was founded in the early years of the 15th century. Noting that this rising sect had great appeal for Tibetan society, Emperor Yongle in 1408 and 1414 sent emissaries to Tibet to invite the founder of the sect, Tsong-kha-pa, to Nanjing. At that time, however, the sect's founder was too busy with monastery construction and preaching to go in person. So in 1414 he sent a disciple, Shakya Ye-shes. The next year the lama envoy received from Emperor Yongle the title of "Grand State Tutor". In 1434 when he visited Beijing, the new Ming capital, he was named "Great Mercy Prince of Dharma" by Emperor Xuande.

Apart from the three highest titles mentioned above a lesser title, but higher than "Grand State Tutor", was given to five leaders of other sects. Each holder was granted a specific fief.

## TRIBUTE-PAYING SYSTEM

The Ming court stipulated that all Tibetan leaders with honorific titles should pay tribute at its capital. At first the Ming court placed no limitation on the frequency of the tribute visits and the number of the visitors within a specified period. Consequently, the number of tribute payers increased year by year. According to an estimate by the Ming Board of Rites, while there were not more than 30 to 40 tribute payers a year in the 20's and 30's of the 15th century, the number grew to 400 in the 50's and to as many as 4,000 in the 60's. The Ming court thus began to apply restrictions.

The large increase in the number of tribute payers from the Tibetan areas is attributed mainly to the handsome

direct benefit they could reap from their visits. They presented as tribute livestock, furs, herbal medicines, woollen cloth, Tibetan incense and other local products. Artistic craftworks, including bronze Buddha statues, and Buddha scroll paintings were also considered tribute. In return they received gold, silver, silks, cloth, grains, tea, farm tools and household utensils. The imperial bestowals usually far exceeded the tribute in both quantity and quality.

While serving to enhance their prestige, paying of tribute on a large scale by the Tibetan temporal and spiritual leaders caused considerable trouble to the people. And these bestowals constituted a severe drain on the state treasury. Nevertheless, paying of tribute led to the promotion of the economic and cultural exchanges, which in turn brought about a strengthening of the political ties between Tibetans and Hans.

## ENCOURAGING TRADE

The traditional exchange of Tibetan horses for Han tea went a step further in times. To facilitate this trade the Ming court set up offices and tea warehouses at what is now Linxia, Tianshui and Lintan in Gansu Province and Ya'an and the Songpan region in Sichuan Province. In dealing with Tibetan pastoral tribes, the Ming court allotted them specified amounts of land, designated land for fixed pasturing and gave their chieftains power of jurisdiction over these lands. It freed them of miscellaneous taxes; they only were required to provide a specified number of horses. The requisitioned horses were reasonably paid for by the Ming government.

## MING POLICIES OUTLINED

In Tibetan areas Ming administrative measures were not as rigorous and its military power not as formidable as during the Yuan. As a matter of fact Ming's governing of Tibet which was far removed from interior China was much looser than the Yuan's. Nevertheless its sovereignty over that area was just the same.



The Ming patronized Lamaism and conferred honorific titles upon its leaders as had the Yuan. The difference was that the Ming kept religion separate from politics. While giving honorific titles to many Lamaist leaders, it did not give them political privileges, much less permit them to interfere with the political affairs of the central authorities. Thus it abolished the system of "Imperial Tutor" which the Yuan had introduced. Conceding to the established fact in the Tibetan areas, the Ming court permitted the Lamaist leaders, who drew both secular and spiritual government in thier own hands, to continue their local administration. Unlike the Yuan court, however, it maintained certain controls over their behaviour.

Instead of favouring a single Lama sect as the Yuan court had done, the Ming court paid attention to all influential sects. In giving titles and powers to leaders of the various sects, it aimed at decentralizing their ruling power so as to make them contain each other. They expected this system to facilitate their control over the Tibetan areas.

At the same time, the Ming court made a point of giving the religious leaders material benefits, such as repaying their tribute with more than what it was worth and favouring them with preferential exchange goods. Moreover, the Ming emperors in some cases issued writs for the protection of their monastery property and against its encroachment. Some emperors honoured the monasteries by inscribing the horizontal title-boards in their own hand. Pacification measures like these won the sincere submission of the overlords in all parts of Tibet with the result that no rebellion ever broke out during the Ming period. The Tibetans enjoyed more social stability which in turn contributed to the development of feudal serfdom.

*Chapter X*

# APOGEE OF TIBETAN FEUDAL SOCIETY

## POWER STRUGGLE BETWEEN LOCAL OVERLORDS

In the closing years of the Yuan Dynasty, the local regime at Sa-skya, which was a merger of clerical and secular rule, began its steady decline owing to the rivalries within the 'Khon family that dominated the regime. By that time the Rlangs family, which held position of powers in the Phag-gru Bka'-brgyud Sect of Lamaism, had been gathering strength in Sne'u-gdong (Nedong) of the Lho-kha region. After overpowering the Sa-skya regime and other local forces, a regime known as Phag-gru was set up in 1354. It was also a merger of clerical and secular rule. The Yuan court recognized this new regime and gave its head, Byang-chub rgyal-mtshan, a title of honour and appointed him *Darkhache* (high official in charge of military and civil affairs). The succeeding Ming court honoured the recognition and conferred on the regime's head, Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, the titles of "State Tutor" and "Prince". All the magistrates of the 13 *rdzong* (equivalent to county in interior China) under the regime were re-appointed by the Ming court and subjected to its jurisdiction.

The Phag-gru regime enjoyed almost a century of rule until 1435 when a noble, Rin-spungs-pa Nor-bu bzang-po, occupied Bsam-grub-rtse (modern Gzhis-kha-rtse, or Xigazê). Nominally under Phag-gru's jurisdiction, he actually established an independent regime.

Bsam-grub-rtse was a vital communication centre in





the Dbus and Gtsang regions and occupied a strategic geographical position. The Ming court in 1416 had established the headquarters of commandery there and had appointed Nam-mkha' rgyal-po, father of Nor-bu bzang-po, as the commander with the title of "Zhao Yong (remarkable bravery) General". His son inherited his office before occupying Bsam-grub-rtse.

After taking Bsam-grub-rtse, Rin-spungs-pa Nor-bu bzang-po carried his expansionist activities into the Dbus region and made an alliance with the Living Buddha of the Red Hat Line under the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect. He even placed Lhasa under his control for a time at the end of the 15th century.

After more than a century of rule, the Rin-spungs-pa family was overthrown in 1565 by one of its subordinate nobles, Tshe-brtan rdo-rje. They had acted in collaboration with local officials in the western part of the Gtsang region and took adventage of the uprisings by subjects of the Rin-spungs-pa rulers. The victor, enlisting the support of the Living Buddha of the Red Hat Line under the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect, continued to press towards Lhasa. Eventually in 1618 his son, Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal, toppled the Phag-gru regime and established the Sde-srid Gtsang-pa regime in Gzhis-kha-rtse.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The period from the mid-14th century to the mid-16th century was the apogee of development for Tibetan feudal society. Although there were military conflicts, it was a period marked by relative social stability and expanding production.

The Phag-gru regime encouraged agriculture and forestry. A top official made regular tours of the manorial estates with a view to improving agricultural production.

In some Tibetan areas close to interior China, the local

people together with the garrison troops of the Ming court opened up land to grow wheat, maize and other crops. Successive good harvests sent the grain prices down to the benefit of the Tibetan population.

Some Tibetans in Qinghai set up settlements to facilitate agricultural development or engaged in both grain growing and stockbreeding. Others in western Sichuan introduced improved method of irrigation.

Handicrafts showed remarkable improvement in variety and technical levels compared with preceding years. Production also rose. In the manufacture of woollen fabrics, a major Tibetan cottage industry, many producers were able to meet their own needs and had a surplus with which to engage in barter trade.

The barter trade consisted chiefly of Tibetan horses for Han tea and included the exchange of Tibetan animal and native products for silks and cloth from the hinterland. It flourished as never before with trading centres springing into existence in various places.

As early as the mid-13th century Tibetan woollen fabrics were known for their fine quality. An open letter from the peace maker, Sa-pan, to Tibetan temporal and religious leaders, previously mentioned, suggested among other things that Tibetan quality phrug (woollen cloth) and other woollen goods be made tribute to the Mongol royal house. In Ming times such quality goods became an indispensable part of tribute. They were also an export item to places like Bhutan.

During Tibetan feudal society's vigorous development, improved means of communications and transport served to promote production as well as the economic and cultural ties between Tibetan, Han and other nationalities. In 1407 Ming Emperor Yongle decreed that Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan, the most influential feudal lord in Tibet, make joint efforts with other local chiefs to renovate the post-stations and roads from the Tibetan areas to interior China. The project was spurred by the



need of the Tibetan local rulers for a free flow of their tribute to the Ming court. Under the supervision and encouragement of the Phag-gru regime, other roads and bridges were repaired or built. The post-station road system originally set up by the Yuan and in constant use for more than a century was thus restored to excellent order.

A special mention should be made of an impressive non-governmental bridge project across the wide span of the Yarlung Zangpo River, the longest in Tibet. Construction of the suspension bridges was under the sponsorship of a lama called Thang-stong rgyal-po (1385-1464). It is said that he financed the project with the alms given to the performances of Tibetan operas which he organized. Full-time designers and metalworkers were employed and after years of efforts a number of suspension bridges were constructed cross the river. This engineering undertaking mirrors the relatively high level of bridge building techniques attained by Tibetan feudal society. Regrettably, the bridges suffered damages in the course of subsequent military conflicts. During the incursion of the Dzungar Mongols at the beginning of the 18th century, in particular, they were totally destroyed. Only traces of the bridgeheads remain barely discernible. Prior to China's liberation in 1949, no other bridges were constructed across this river.

## CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

The relative social stability and economic growth brought about a vigorous cultural development never seen before. In the fields of literature, philosophy and history a large number of works were written.

In the early years following the creation of a written script for the Tibetan language in the seventh century, it had been used mainly for translating Buddhist scriptures from foreign lands. Original works by Tibetans

were very few. It was not until the 13th century when Tshal-pa Dga'-bde mgon-po, a leader of the Tshal-pa Bka'-brgyud Sect, brought back from a mission to interior China the art of block printing that things began to change. At the same time the Tibetans improved their technology of paper making. All this paved the way for the mass production of books. Beginning with the 14th century, along with the vigorous development of the economy, numerous works by Tibetan scholars on various subjects appeared. Following are some of the more important works:

1. *Records of the Tibetan Royal Lineage.* This account of the ancient Tufan royal house was written by Bsod-nams rgyal-mtshan, a monk of the Sa-skya Sect and was completed in 1388. Descriptions are particularly detailed of the Tibetan kings Srong-btsan sgam-po, Khri-srong-Ide-btsan and Khri-gtsug-Ide-btsan. Considerable space is also given to descriptions of the marriage of princesses Wen Cheng and Jin Cheng to Tibetan kings and to cultural exchanges between Tibetan and Han nationalities. Among the features of the book are quotations from the *New Tang Book* and the *Old Tang Book* in the Han language and the inclusion of ancient Tibetan myths and legends. Written in a lively, clear style, the book is a historical work of fairly high literary standards. It is marred, however, by the inclusion of a good deal of information on the nature of religious superstition.

2. *Blue Annals.* It was written in 1476 by 'Gos Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481), a translator and a noted monk of the Bka'-brgyud Sect. Apart from the lineal history of the Tufan royal house, it details the founding and development of the various Lamaist sects, especially the Bka'-brgyud Sect. Compiled chronologically and rich in content, it is an important work for the study of the history of Tibetan nationality and receives widespread appreciation from academic circles both at home and abroad. With Buddhist idealism as his guiding ideology, the author naturally could not free himself from distortions and prejudices in dealing with the developments of history.



3. *Red Annals.* Finished in 1346, it was written by Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje (1309 — 1353), a noted scholar in the Dbus and Gtsang regions and a local lord. It is mainly a Tibetan history of the period from the Tufan Dynasty to the reign of the local regime dominated by the Sa-skya Sect. Sections are devoted to recounting royal lineages in ancient India, interior China and Mongolia. Material is taken from Han histories with stress on the description of relations between Tibetan and Han nationalities. Like *Blue Annals,* this work is important for the study of Tibetan history and is respected by Chinese and foreign academics.

4. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism.* Finished in 1322, this work was written by Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364), another Buddhist teacher as famous as his contemporary, Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje, in the field of Buddhist learning. It is representative of his works in more than 200 titles. It deals mainly with the birth and diffusion of the Buddhist religion, the formation of its two sects — Mahayana (Great Vehicle) and Hinayana (Little Vehicle) — and the evolution of Lamaism in Tibetan areas. When famous, the author found favour with a local chief at Zha-lu in the neighbourhood of Gzhis-kha-rtse, who put him in charge of the Zha-lu Monastery. He later founded the Zha-lu Sect.

5. *A Feast for Wise Men.* Finished in 1564, it was written by Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag 'phreng-ba (1503-1565), a Living Buddha of the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect. It is an important history rich in content; its records are known to be fairly reliable. It deals chiefly with the lineage of the Tufan royal house and the development and diffusion of Buddhism in Tibetan areas. Considerable space is also given to the history of India as well as Yutian, Xixia (Tangut) and Mongolia. Thanks to its erudition, as

shown in the frequent quoting from reliable sources and its faithfulness to historical facts, the work is popular with the Tibetan reading public. Precisely for this reason it incurred the displeasure of Tibetan feudal historians who condemned the book as "heresy". Come what may, the place of the book in Tibetan historical works can never be written off.

Special mention should be made here of the Tibetan *Tripitaka*, the world-famous series of Buddhist learning which was produced during this time. This collection consists of two parts — Bka'-'gyur ("Buddha's teachings") and Bstan-'gyur ("explanations of Buddhist sutras and commandments"). The first part comprises 1,108 titles and the second 3,461 according to the Bde-dge edition. The tables of contents for the two parts were compiled by Tshal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje and Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub, noted monk scholars of the early part of the 14th century. Editing of such a voluminous series certainly involved a tremendous amount of work. Its completion represents a brilliant addition to the treasure house of world culture as well as a significant contribution to Asian culture.

Remarkable progress was also registered in medicine, calendarial calculation and architecture during this period.

The Tibetans are accredited with the production of an important medical book, *Brgyud bzhi* ("the four systems in medicine"). It is said to have been jointly compiled by the doctors that Princess Jin Cheng invited from interior China, the Western Regions and India after her marriage in Tufan in the eighth century. The part on the principles of medicine are based chiefly on Han medicine, a significant embodiment of the cultural exchange between Tibetan and Han nationalities. The book is said to have been lost and not rediscovered until this period. Incorporating some of the quintessence of Tibetan medicine acquired during several centuries of practice, the book



was most probably subjected to amendment and addition. And it is possible that the book was produced at this time.

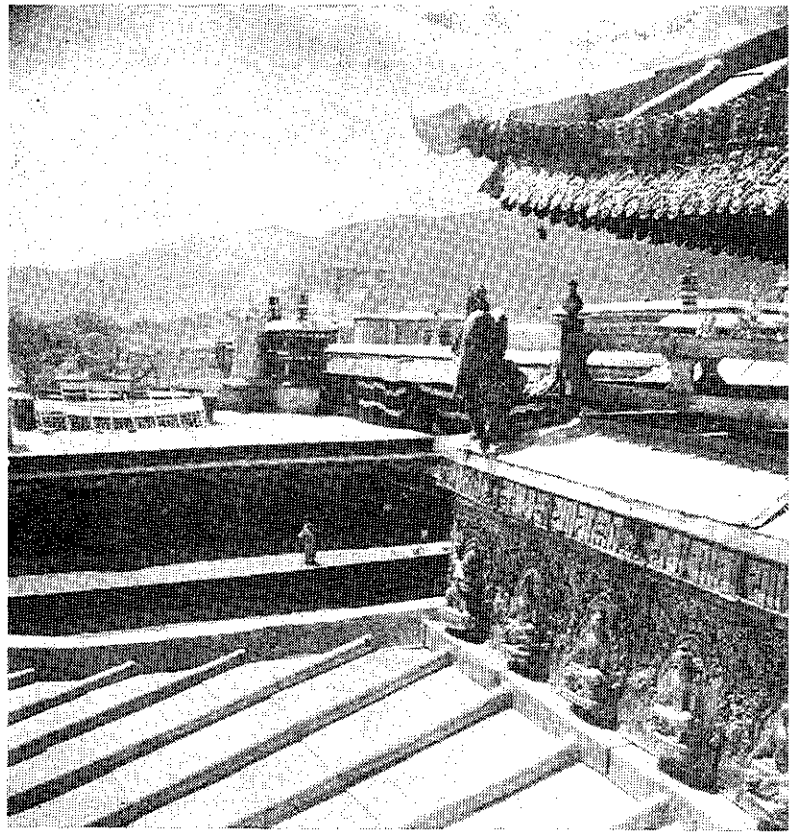
The earliest Tibetan calendarial records were made at the beginning of the ninth century. The first 60-year cycle on the Tibetan calendar started in 1027. This calendar is about the same as the lunar calendar of the Han areas, which according to Tibetan annals, was introduced into Tufan as early as the sixth century. It was steadily improved with the development of Tibetan feudal economy. Some of the calculation achievements of the Tibetan calendar are dealt with in Bstan-'gyur of the *Tripitaka*.

Many major monasteries, representative of the high level of Tibetan architecture, were built during this time. Most of them were laid out in tiers and rest on hillsides. Walls were constructed with rocks placed one on top of another. While incorporating some features of Han architecture, such as cantilever brackets, roof beams and ceiling decorations, the structures display a distinctive and unique Tibetan style. They constitute an example of utility and beauty combined.

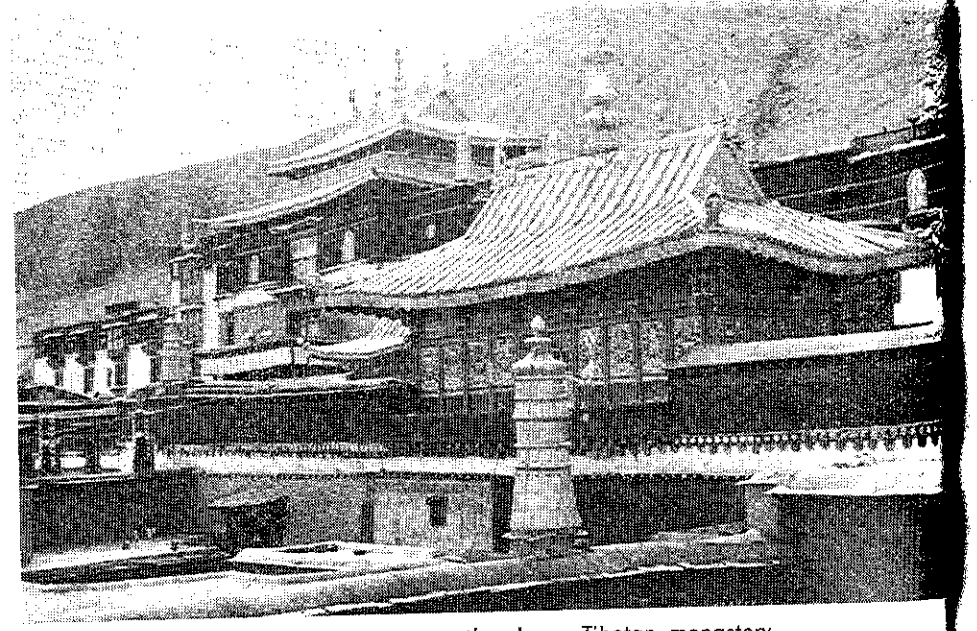
In the same period works of painting, sculpture and statue moulding were done in an unique style and were impressive not only for their number but for their high artistic level. Many of these works of art have been preserved. Among them are the Rgyal-rtse (Gyangzê) Monastery frescos, which are works influenced by interior China painting art and tinted with the colour of the art of Nepal, Kashmir and India.

Lamaism exerted a strong influence on Tibetan culture. In view of the widespread control exercised by the Lamaist monastic circles over cultural undertakings, Tibetan culture has been tinted with a strong religious colour. Many of the valuable fruits of Tibetan culture were sought out or collated under the sponsorship of

lamas. However, as far as the major part of Tibetan culture is concerned, it was created by the working people and epitomizes their labour and wisdom.



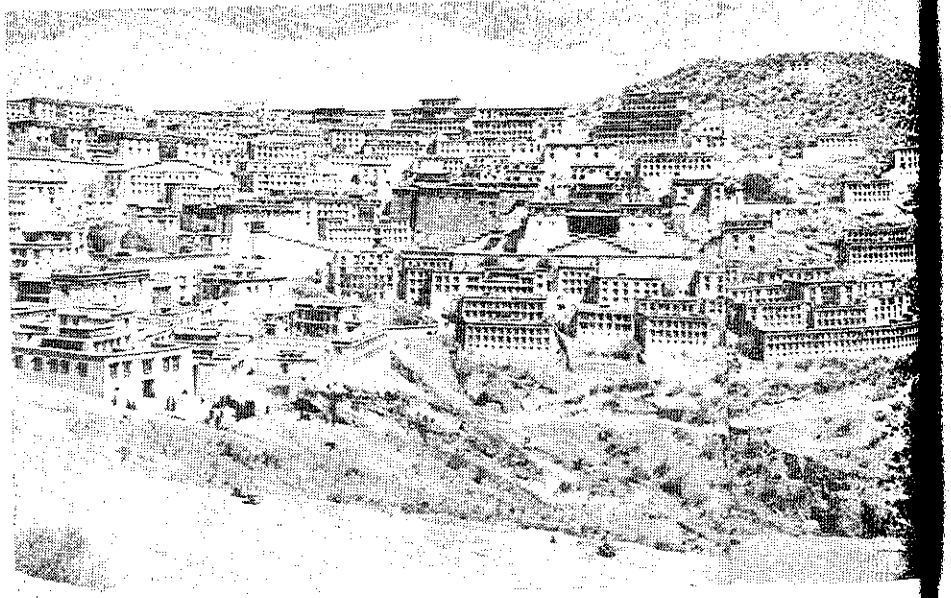
Jokhang, one of the largest Lamaist monasteries in Tibet.



Bkra-shis lhun-po, another large Tibetan monastery.

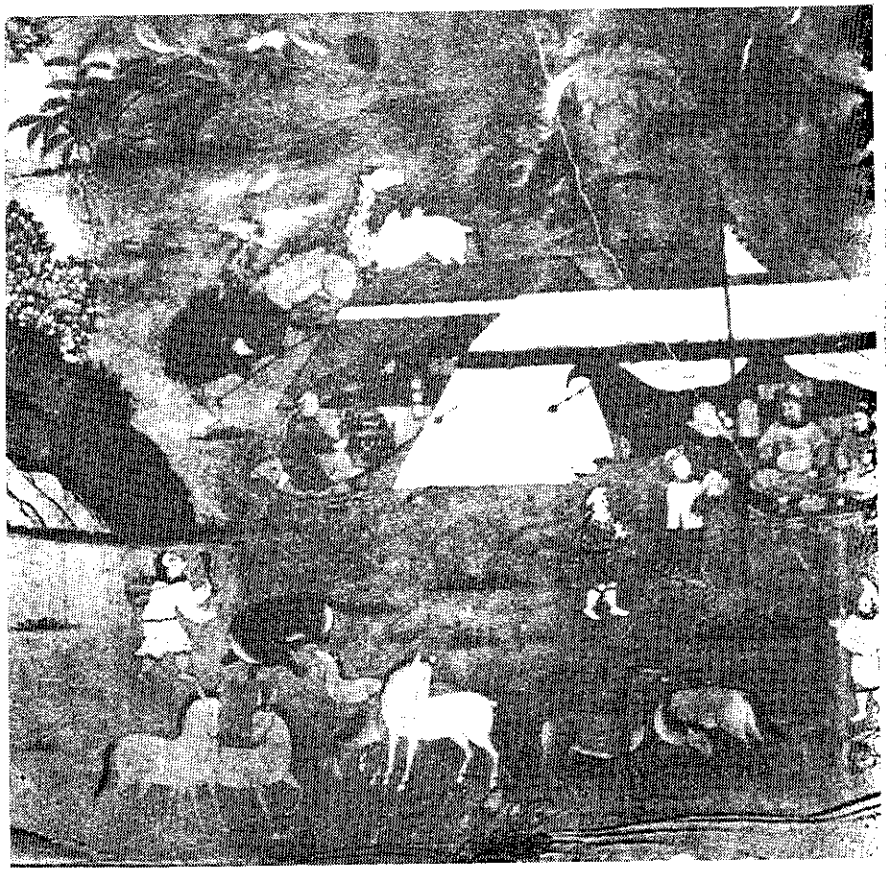
King Strong-btsan sgam-po.

Dga'-ldan Monastery, which today no longer exists.



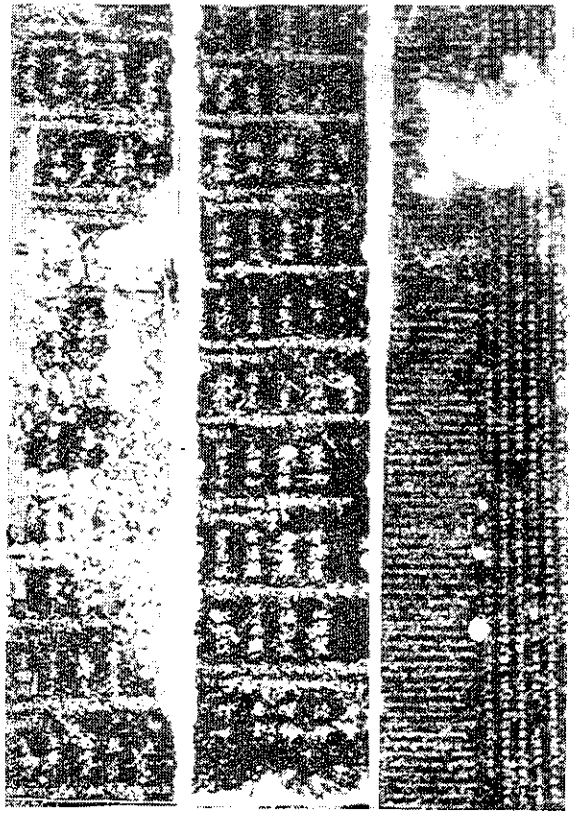
Princess Wen Cheng.

**The Audience,** a picture done 1,300 years ago by the famous painter Yan Liben (627-673) of the Tang dynasty. It shows the Tang emperor Tai Zong (in a seated position surrounded by palace women) giving an audience to Mgar stong-btsan (second left), an envoy sent by King Srong-btsan sgam-po to ask for the hand of a Tang princess in marriage. The result was the wedding of Princess Wen Cheng with the Tufan king.

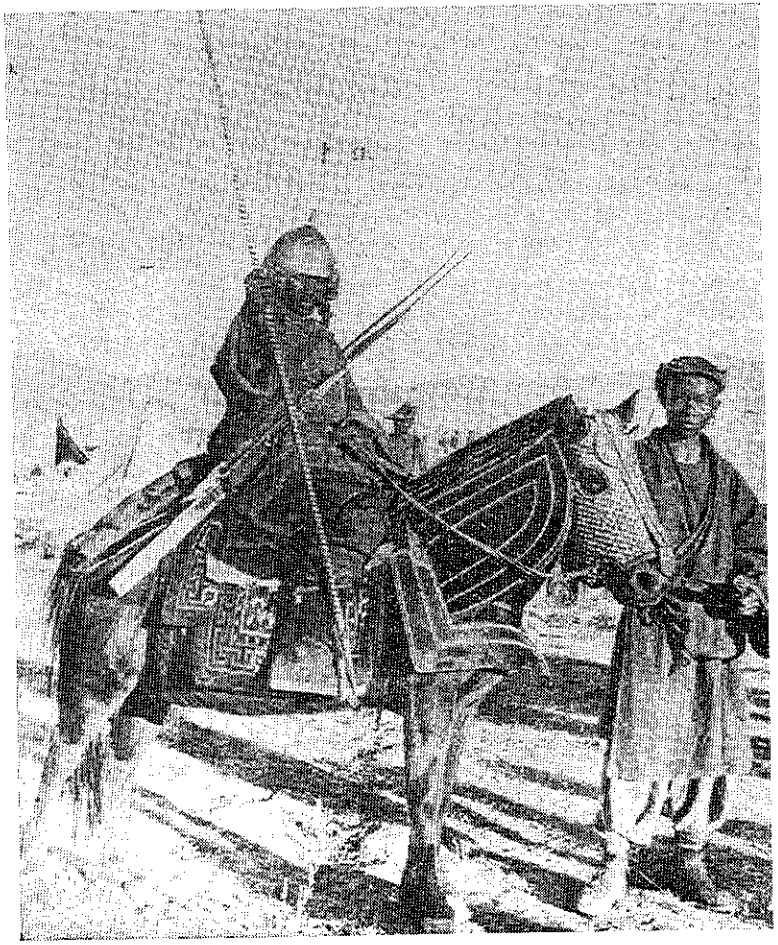


**'Phags-po and Kublai Khan,** a mural painting found in a Tibetan monastery. 'Phags-po, leader of the Lamaist Sa-ska Sect, was granted an interview by the Mongol ruler Kublai Khan, both pictured sitting cross-legged in front of a tent. With support from Kublai Khan, 'Phags-po later held administrative power in Tibet and also became a high official of the Yuan court.

The famous Maternal Uncle-Nephew Peace Pledge Monument at Jokhang Monastery, erected in 823, a witness to Tang-Tufan unity.

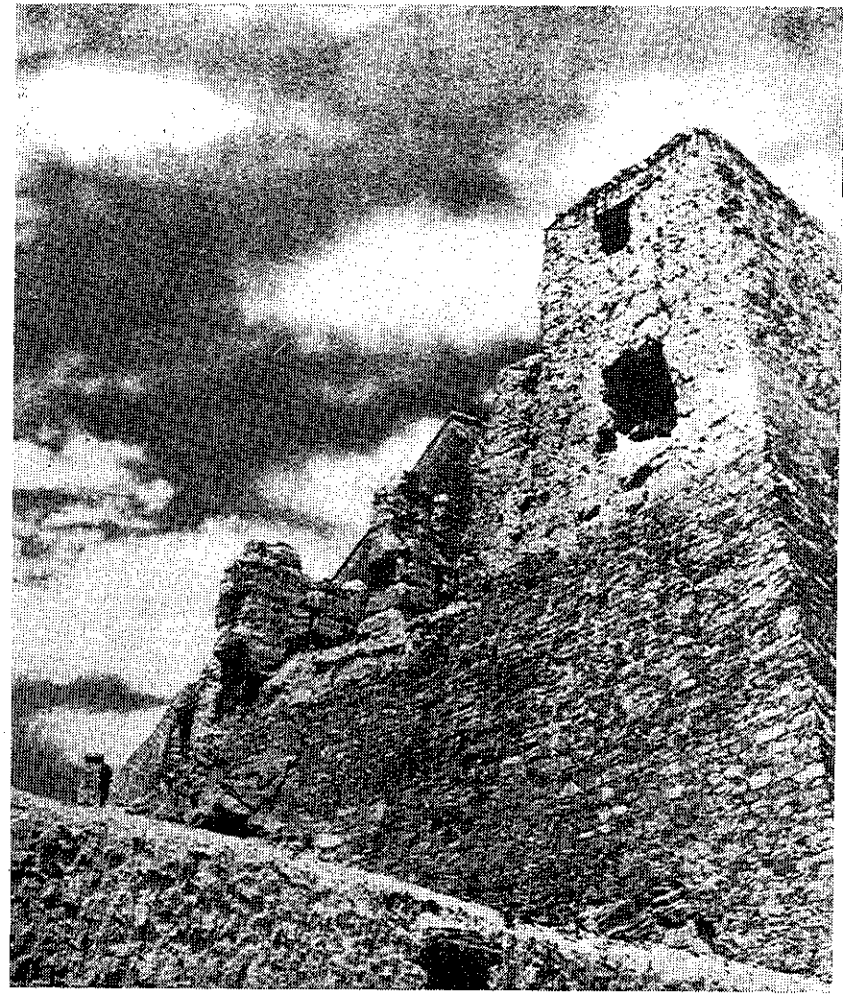


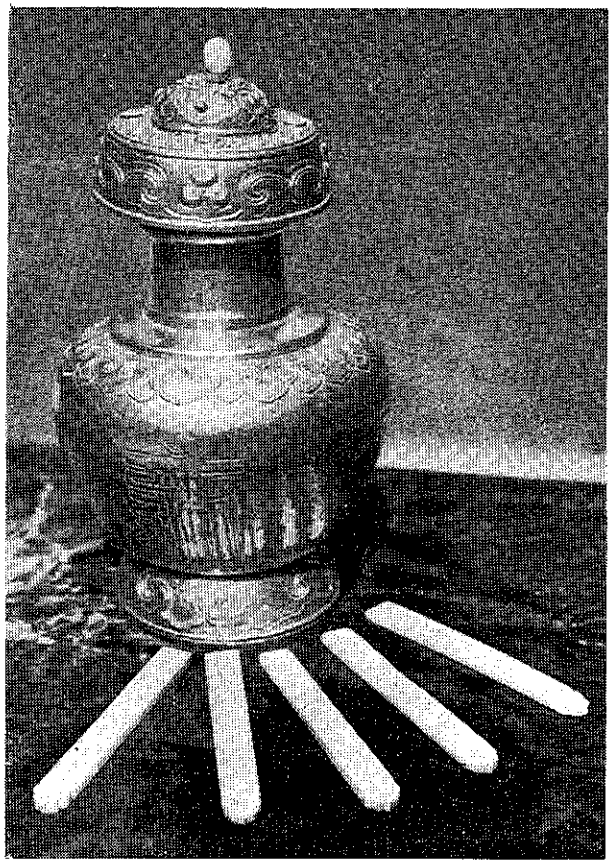
Inscriptions on the peace monument.



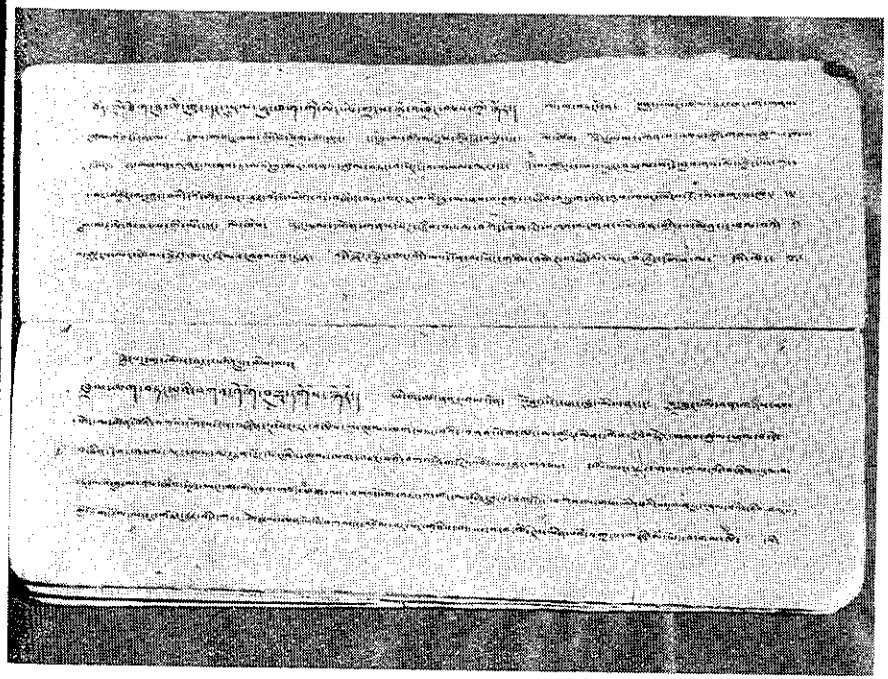
A Tibetan warrior during the war of resistance against British aggression in the nineteenth century.

The Fort of Rgyal-rtse, a historical center of defence against British aggression.



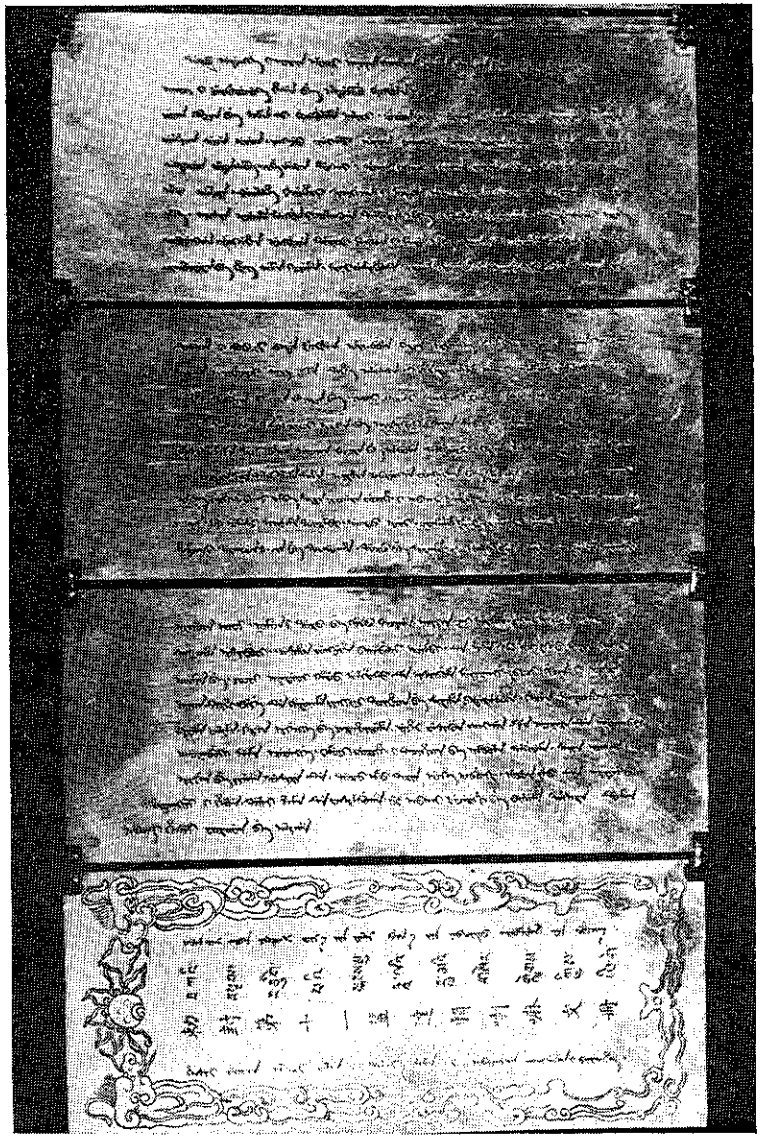


The Golden Vase and Ivory Tablets used during the incarnation ceremony in Tibet. The names of "soul boys", or candidates to become the new Dalai Lama, were carved on the tablets and placed in the Golden Vase. Under the supervision of the Amban, the representative of the court, a grand religious ceremony would be conducted, and then one tablet was drawn, thus deciding the succession of the new Dalai Lama. This system shows the sovereignty of the Qing over Tibet.



The Twenty-Nine-Article Ordinance for the More Efficient Governing of Tibet, established in 1793, prescribed the status and power of the Qing representative to supervise Tibetan affairs and defined other provisions concerning civil administration.

The Golden Seal of Authority granted by the central government to Fifth Dalai Lama in 1653 during the latter's visit to the Qing emperor Shunzhi in Beijing.



Golden Sheets inscribed with the Qing order conferring recognition of the Eleventh Dalai Lama.

*Chapter XI*

# RISE OF THE YELLOW SECT AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF REINCARNATING DALAIS AND PANCHENS

In the early years of the 15th century there arose in Tibetan society a new sect of Lamaism — the Dge-lugs Sect. Although the latest of the Lamaist sects to appear, it grew rapidly and became the dominant sect. It is to this sect that Dalai and Panchen, the two leading Living Buddhas in Tibet, belong. This sect is popularly called the Yellow Sect since its monks all wear yellow hats.

## FOUNDER OF THE YELLOW SECT

The founder of the Yellow Sect was Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419), who was a native of Tsong-kha (now Huang-zhong County) near Xining city, Qinghai. Originally named Blo-bzang grags-pa, he was descended from the family of a high official of the Yuan Dynasty. At the age of seven he became a monk of the Bka'-gdams Sect. In 1372 when he was 16, he went to the Dbus and Gtsang regions to study Buddhist scriptures. There he made contact with various Lamaist sects. Later he published his writings and became well known. It was on the basis of the doctrines of the Bka'-gdams Sect and by absorbing some elements of other sects that he established the Yellow Sect.

## RELIGIOUS REFORMATION

For years Tsong-kha-pa pursued activities in religious reformation. His efforts, however, first and foremost answered the needs of the ruling class, the feudal serf-owner class.

After the 13th century the Sa-skya, the Bka'-brgyud and other Lamaist sects enjoyed political privileges and possessed large numbers of manorial estates, pastures and serfs. They brutally exploited and oppressed the mass of people. Their monks of the upper strata led a loose life, were addicted to sensual pleasures, drank and stopped at no evil. All this aroused great resentment among the people. Aware of the danger of Lamaism losing its popularity with the people, the serf-owner class, like any other ruling class in past history, played on religion to help consolidate their rule. They were anxious to have such an eminent religious figure as Tsong-kha-pa carry out a reformation.

On his part, Tsong-kha-pa led the reformation movement for the purposes of saving the prestige of his faith and safeguarding the interests of the monastic circles. His efforts would in effect make Lamaism more capable of poisoning the mind of the people and blunting their fighting will, thus serving the interests of the serf-owning class.

The demands of the reformation were mainly:

The monks abide by the commandments and live a rigorous life as befitting monkhood;

They follow a step-by-step method in scripture studies;

The study organization be kept independent of the economic organization;

The administration of the monastery be conducted by a committee system, thus doing away with the control of the monastic economy by any single temporal manorial lord.

The reformation, in effect, did not involve the basic



teachings of Lamaism at all. It represented mere slight changes or regulations in form concerning the faith.

In early 1409 Tsong-kha-pa, with the solid support of the Phag-gru regime, held at the Jokhang Temple of Lhasa a mass prayer meeting attended by numerous monks. (From then on this kind of service took place annually in the first month of the Tibetan calendar.) In the same year Tsong-kha-pa established Dga'-ldan Monastery, the first of its kind of the Yellow Sect. This event marked the formal founding of the sect.

## TSONG-KHA-PA'S LEADING DISCIPLES

In carrying out the reformation and founding the Yellow Sect, Tsong-kha-pa had the vigorous assistance of several of his leading disciples. Rgyal-tshab rje and Mkhas-grub rje were the most eminent.

Like Tsong-kha-pa, Rgyal-tshab rje was originally a disciple of the noted monk, Red-mda'-ba Gzhon-nu blo-gros of the Sa-skya Sect. But later, about 1397, he took Tsong-kha-pa as his teacher. He was well versed in the doctrines of Buddhism and proved to be an eloquent debator. At Tsong-kha-pa's death he inherited his mantle and hat and the abbotship of the Dga'-ldan Monastery. It is to be noted that the abbot of the Dga'-ldan Monastery enjoyed high prestige in Tibetan society: its status was identical with that of the head of the Yellow Sect. The monks of the Yellow Sect took Tsong-kha-pa as the supreme *Dga'-ldan khri-pa* and his disciple Rgyal-tshab rie as the first *Dga'-ldan khri-pa.*

Like Rgyal-tshab rje, Mkhas-grub rje was a disciple of Red-mda'-ba Gzhon-nu blo-gros. On Red-mda'-ba's recommendation he was accepted by Tsong-kha-pa as a disciple in 1407. He succeeded Rgyal-tshab rje as the second *Dga'-ldan khri-pa,* and, when a chain of Panchen Living Buddhas was formed in the Yellow Sect, he was

posthumously recognized as the first Panchen by the monkhood of the Sect.

Tsong kha-pa and these two leading disciples were revered by the followers of the Yellow Sect as *Rje yab- sras gsum*, which means "the revered trinity — father and sons." Today in lamaseries one usually sees a set of statues of these three figures wearing *pan-zhva* (scholar's hat).

Bkra-shis dpal-ldan, a disciple of Tsong-kha-pa in his late years, built the 'Bras-spungs Monastery in the western suburb of Lhasa in 1416. A noble provided financial support. In 1418 another disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, Shakya Ye-shes to whom the Ming Dynasty in 1434 granted the title of "Great Mercy Prince of Dharma", built the Se-ra Monastery in Lhasa's northern suburb. He financed the project with the great wealth he received from his first trip to interior China to pay respects to the Ming Emperor Yongle. After Tsong-kha-pa's death another disciple of his, Dge-'dun grub, constructed Bkra-shis-lhun-po Monastery in Gzhis-kha-rtse (Xigazê) in 1447. He also had the financial support of a noble. These three monasteries, together with the Dga'-ldan Monastery, are known as the four major monasteries of the Yellow Sect. Massive and splendidly built, they are well-known lamaseries in China.

## THE YELLOW SECT'S GROWTH AND ITS RIVALRIES WITH OTHER SECTS

Within a short time following the establishment of the four major lamaseries, many monasteries with their own estates and serfs which belonged to the Bka'-gdams Sect, changed their allegiance to the Yellow Sect. This substantially increased the number of the monasteries under the Yellow Sect. By the mid-16th century the Yellow Sect monasteries had spread to Mnga'-ris, Khams and Amdo and they constituted a formidable monastic force.



Like other sects, the Yellow Sect came into being during the years of Tibetan feudal society's vigorous development. The difference is that it tried to establish wide contact with feudal forces in various areas and win the support of the entire serf-owning class. It did not work closely with the feudal forces of a single area as was the case with other sects. It was chiefly due to such a policy that the Yellow Sect grew rapidly in strength.

Tibetan annals record cases of rivalry between the Yellow Sect, which was rapidly growing during the first part of the 16th century, and other sects. For instance, as the sect spread its influence as far as the Lhasa area between 1498 and 1517, the powerful Rin-spungs-pa family, who followed the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect, banned the mass prayer meeting held annually in Lhasa under the sponsorship of the Yellow Sect. Again, in 1537 the 'Bri-gung Bka'-brgyud Sect sent troops to attack the Yellow Sect's Dga'-ldan Monastery and compelled eighteen of the sect's monasteries to go over to its faith. Such rivalries were in effect the struggles between the monastic circles of the Yellow Sect and the feudal groupings representing different areas of economic interests. It should be noted here that in the early days of the Yellow Sect some local feudal groupings, which usually acted in the name of one or another sect, not only took no exception to what the Yellow Sect did but did everything in support of its reformation movement and desired to see it grow. Nevertheless, conflicts of interests arose when the Yellow Sect monasteries became strong economically and carried their activities into the domains controlled by other feudal forces. Economic conflict often led to armed struggle.

## BEGINNING OF THE SYSTEM OF REINCARNATING THE LIVING BUDDHAS

By the middle of the 16th century the Yellow Sect had developed a very powerful monastic economy. It was

necessary to maintain its economic interests while pursuing rivalries with other forces. Therefore, it set out to find a stable leader. In 1546 the higher lamas of 'Bras-spungs Monastery found a boy of three years named Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho (1543-1588). They honoured him as a Living Buddha and made him leader of the monastic circles of the Yellow Sect. This was in fact a plot engineered by the higher lamas in their own interests, but it marked the beginning of the system introduced by the sect of reincarnating Living Buddhas.

## HOW THE TITLE OF "DALAI LAMA" DEVELOPED

In 1576 the chieftain of the Tumet tribe of the Mongols, Al-than Khan, wrote from Qinghai to Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, inviting this leader of the Yellow Sect to meet him.

At that time the Mongol chieftain had been defeated in his incursion into Xinjiang, which was part of the Ming Dynasty's domain, and had retreated to the Qinghai Lake region. In order to stabilize his rather precarious position by the prestige of Lamaism, he decided to invite Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, an eminent hierarch of the Yellow Sect, to his headquarters to talk things over. On the other hand, the monastic circles of the Yellow Sect were in urgent need of military support to cope with their adversaries and consolidate their position and gains. So in the winter of 1577 the Yellow Sect chief set off from the 'Bras-spungs Monastery in Lhasa and arrived in Qinghai after a long, fatiguing journey in May.

The friendliness of the meeting, which was satisfactory to both sides, was enhanced by their review of the excellent relationship forged in the 13th century between Kublai Khan, ancestor of Al-than Khan, and 'Phags-pa, a famous high lama. Availing himself of the opportunity, the Yellow Sect chief preached the conceptions of his



sect to the Mongol chieftain. He tried to persuade him to stop slaughtering and to abolish such bad Mongol customs as killing large numbers of livestock for use as funerary or sacrificial objects. So under the patronage of the Mongol leader, most of the Mongols and Tibetans in the Qinghai region became converts to the Yellow Sect.

In the same year as the interview, the Mongol leader conferred an honorific title of "Dalai Lama" ("Dalai" meaning "ocean" and "Lama", "superior man") which was preceded by complex wording meaning "omniscience" and "great authority". That is the origin of the title of "Dalai Lama". Later the title of the First Dalai Lama was posthumously conferred by the hierarchy of the Yellow Sect on Dge-'dun grub, disciple of Tsong-kha-pa, and that of the Second Dalai Lama on Dge-'dun rgya-mtsho, disciple of Dge-'dun grub. The title of the Third Dalai Lama went to Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho, who was supposed to be the Living Buddha reincarnation of Dge-'dun rgya-mtsho. All the succeeding Dalai Lamas took the 'Bras-spungs Monastery as the "mother monastery".

## THE THIRD DALAI LAMA (1543-1588)

The year he became Dalai Lama, Bsod-nams accompanied the Mongol leader, Al-than Khan, to Tumet (now the Huhehot region). As he stopped over at Tsong-kha-pa's birthplace in the neighbourhood of present-day Xining, he built a monastery called the Sku-'bum Monastery. Passing by Ganzhou (modern Zhangye), he sent, jointly with officials of the Tibetan Phag-gru regime, a tribute-paying mission to the Ming court. Meanwhile, he wrote to the Prime Minister of the Ming court, Zhang Juzheng, appealing for approval to make the paying of tribute a regular affair.

Some time later Bsod-nams' appeal was accepted. According to the Ming court's regulations, nobody below the status of a "State Tutor" should be permitted to offer

tribute. So it can be seen that the Ming court regarded Bsod-nams, a Lamaist leader, as a dignitary at or above the rank of a "State Tutor".

Following his arrival in Tumet, Bsod-nams constructed monasteries and diffused the Yellow Sect. With the vigorous patronage by Al-than Khan, the Yellow Sect grew in popularity in places where the Mongols lived in compact communities.

During his journey back to Tibet in 1580, Bsod-nams built the Litang Monastery at Litang in the south of the Khams region.

When Al-than Khan died in 1583, Bsod-nams accepted an invitation from the Mongols in Tumet to attend the Khan's funeral. It was not until 1586 that he arrived there. After he attended the funeral the next year, he left for Beijing at the invitation of the Ming court. But he died on the way in March 1588.

## THE FOURTH DALAI LAMA (1589-1616)

After Bsod-nams' death, a "soul boy", supposed to be his reincarnation, had to be sought out according to the conventional practice. Rather than a Tibetan, however, a Mongol, a new-born great-grandson of Al-than Khan, came to be identified as the "soul boy". It should be noticed that all Dalai Lamas, except this "soul boy" who became the Fourth Dalai Lama, were Tibetans. But the unusual practice of claiming a Mongol as the reincarnation of a Dalai Lama, after all, won the approval of the whole Yellow Sect. This reflected the eager desire of the Yellow Sect for the Mongols' military support.

In 1602 when he was thirteen, the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon-tan rgya-mtsho, was invited to Tibet by the three major monasteries there. The next year he arrived in Lhasa under the escort of a Mongol armed force as well as the special emissaries from those monasteries.

At this time the Zhing-gshags-pa family, followers of



the Karma Bka'-brgyud, had already entrenched itself in Gzhis-kha-rtse and was expanding its power in the Dbus and Gtsang regions. Although it had not yet established the powerful Sde-srid Gtsang-pa local regime, it was strong enough to put the two regions under its control and challenge the monastic circles of the Yellow Sect. In 1616 the Fourth Dalai Lama died at the age of twenty-seven in the 'Bras-spungs Monastery. Some historical records attribute his death to a murder carried out by Phun-tshogs rnam-rgyal, founder of the Sde-srid Gtsang-pa regime.

## THE FIFTH DALAI LAMA (1617-1682)

During his enthronement as the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho faced hostile forces on all sides. The Yellow Sect's monastic circles, on account of their ever-expanding influence, increasingly clashed with the interests of other local feudal forces. In the Dbus and Gtsang regions the Sde-srid Gtsang-pa regime did everything to damage and squeeze out the Yellow Sect. In Qinghai Chos-thu Khan, chieftain of the Kharkha tribe of the Mongols who followed the Karma Bka'-brgyud Sect, colluded with the Sde-srid Gtsang-pa regime to wipe out the Yellow Sect. In the Khams region the local lord of Beri, Don-yod rdo-rje, a Bon follower, was also hostile to the Yellow Sect. In this situation the head of the Yellow Sect appealed to the leader of an armed group, Gu-shri Khan, for help. Now this Mongol leader of the Hoshod tribe, whose army was stationed at the southern foothills of the Tianshan Mountains in Xinjiang, was a follower of the Yellow Sect in name only. He had long desired to conquer Qinghai and the Dbus and Gtsang regions. In early 1636 he led his forces in a surprise attack on the domain of the Kharkha tribe and killed at Qinghai Lake its chieftain, Chos-thu Khan. Three years later he marched on the Khams region and captured and killed

the local chief of Beri. Then in 1642 he carried war into the Dbus and Gtsang regions, putting an end to the Sde-srid Gtsang-pa regime, the last enemy of the Yellow Sect. Thus, he placed the bulk of Tibetan areas under his control. At the same time the Yellow Sect's monastic circles, with Gu-shri Khan squarely behind them, obtained a dominant position in the economy as well as in religion.

Following the unification of the whole country by the Qing Dynasty, the Fifth Dalai Lama came to Beijing in 1652 at the invitation of Emperor Shunzhi. He was accorded a grand reception. The next year when he stopped over at Taika (modern Liangcheng in Inner Mongolia) during his return to Tibet, he was officially granted an honorific title of Dalai Lama by the Qing court, which had sent an emissary there to give him a gold-gilt album and gold seal as signs of authority as well as the title itself. In that way the status of the Dalai Lama was confirmed by the Qing court. And it was this occasion that marks the inception of an institution by which all generations of the Dalai Lama had to be confirmed by the central government.

As for the administrative power, the Qing court explicitly put it in the hands of Gu-shri Khan. In 1653 it gave him the title of "Righteous and wise Gu-shri Khan". With a bestowal of a gold-gilt album and a gold seal, it installed him as its agent to rule over Tibet.

## SYSTEM OF REINCARNATING PANCHENS ESTABLISHED

The title of Panchen originated with Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1567-1662), who was reverently called "Panchen" ("great scholar" in Tibetan) for his great learning in Buddhist studies. As he was the abbot of the Bkra-shis-lhun-po Monastery in Gzhis-kha-rtse, he was the tutor of both the Fourth and Fifth Dalai Lamas. He actively helped the Fifth Dalai Lama in engineering the plot using Gu-shri Khan's armed forces to get rid of the



enemies of the Yellow Sect. His service won the appreciation of the Khan as well. In 1645 the Mongol leader honoured him by giving him the title of "Panchen Pokto" ("Pokto" meaning "a wise and brave man" in Mongolian). This is supposed to be the origin of the title of "Panchen".

After Blo-bzang's death the Fifth Dalai Lama chose a "soul boy" as his tutor's reincarnation. Thus, the system of reincarnating the Living Buddha Panchen came into being. Blo-bzang was confirmed by the Yellow Sect as the Fourth Panchen. The title of all the preceding Panchens was granted posthumously: the first was Mkhas-grub rje, disciple of Tsong-kha-pa; the second, Bsod-nams phyogs-glang; the third, Blo-bzang don-grub. Beginning with the Fourth Panchen, all Panchens took the Bkra-shis-lhun-po Monastery as the "mother monastery".

The Fifth Panchen (1663-1737) was named Blo-bzang Ye-shes. In 1713 he was granted the title of "Panchen Erdeni" ("Erdeni" meaning "treasure" in Manchu) and the Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty bestowed a gold-gilt album and a seal of authority to him. Accordingly, the status of the Panchen was authorized by the central government of the Qing Dynasty, which also made it a rule that all succeeding Panchens were to be legalized by going through these formalities.

## THE YELLOW SECT'S IMPACT ON TIBETAN SOCIETY

The Yellow Sect has exerted profound influence on Tibetan society owing to its wide following among the Tibetan people. According to its commandments, the monks were not to take part in production, still less get married. That is to say, they were unable to produce neither means of subsistence nor offspring. Therefore, with the Yellow Sect growing in strength, there was an increasing number of people living off others, thus impeding the development of production. On the other hand, the prohibition of marriage held back the growth

of the Tibetan population. The impeded production and the retarded growth of population aggravated each other, bringing serious consequences to Tibetan society.

An important event was the formation of the Yellow Sect monastic grouping in the middle of the 16th century. Nevertheless, after its formation, feudal Tibetan society went into a state of stagnation.

*Chapter XII*

# QING DYNASTY'S ADMINISTRATION OF THE TIBETAN AREAS

## MAKING USE OF LAMAISM

In 1636, before defeating Chos-thu Khan of the Kharkha Mongols, Gu-shri Khan went from Qinghai to Lhasa in the disguise of a Lama pilgrim for a secret meeting with the Fifth Dalai Lama and the Fourth Panchen. All sensed that Ming rule was tottering and the Manchu rulers in northeast China, who were constantly expanding their domain, would not take long to occupy central China. Therefore, they decided to jointly send a goodwill mission to Mukden (modern Shenyang) to seek the support of the Manchus.

The mission arrived in Mukden in 1642 and was given a hearty reception by Emperor Tai Zong. Prior to this, in 1639, the Qing court had sent a special envoy to Tibet inviting high monks to come to the Manchu and Mongol areas for preaching. Behind all such gestures made by the Manchus were political motivations. Because many people in the Qing domain, particularly the Mongols, were believers in Lamaism, the Manchus planned to make use of this faith to lull the people to support them so that their rear areas might be consolidated as they marched on to unify China. When Emperor Shunzhi of the Qing came to the throne in Beijing, patronizing and making use of Lamaism remained a basic policy. A case in point is the Qing's official confirmation in 1653 of the status of the Fifth Dalai Lama.

## SEPARATING RELIGION FROM POLITICS

In the middle of the 17th century, the Qing Dynasty actively carried out a policy of patronizing and supporting the Yellow Sect by giving titles of honour to its hierarchs. However, it had not authorized the Fifth Dalai Lama, chief of the sect, to become the political leader of the Tibetan areas. It had given the administrative ruling power over the Tibetan areas to Gu-shri Khan, chieftain of the Hoshod Mongols. This separation of religion from politics became clearly known from the titles granted to Tibetan and Mongol leaders respectively. The long title given to the Fifth Dalai Lama indicates that he was to take charge of clerical rule. That given to Gu-shri Khan directs him to assist the emperor in safeguarding the frontier areas and to bring peace and order to them through his judicious government.

The policy of separating religion from politics was again evident in 1695. A delegate of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, in the name of the Fifth Dalai Lama sent an emissary to Beijing to request an official rank from Emperor Kangxi. At that time the emperor had not yet learned that the Dalai Lama had been dead for more than a decade. Since the request was made by the Yellow Sect leader, he granted Sangs-rgyas the rank of "prince" together with a gold seal of authority. But such a rank did not mean that the receiver was to exercise administrative power. In fact, his power was limited to the diffusion of religion as was clearly shown in the inscription on the seal.

## POLICY OF CONCESSION

In 1696 it became known that Sangs-rgyas had kept the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama a secret from the Qing court. Meanwhile, his other offences, such as abuse of power and collusion with the Dzungar Mongols, the Qing court's enemy, were also revealed. Consequently, Emperor Kangxi wrote to Sangs-rgyas denouncing his behavior and threatening him with military action. Panic-stricken, Sangs-rgyas sent an envoy to Beijing to report to the emperor that with the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama, his incarnation, Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho, had been installed as the Sixth Dalai Lama fifteen years before. The pretext made for withholding the information was his fears of an outbreak of unrest among the Tibetan people that would have been caused by the announcement.



At this time the Qing court had just crushed an incursion by Dga'-ldan, a chieftain of the Dzungar Mongols, and needed a respite. Moreover the Qing had to deal with unrest occurring in various places and thought it advisable to recognize the accomplished facts brought about by Sangs-rgyas. Thus, the Qing sanctioned the enthronement of Tshangs-dbyangs as the Sixth Dalai Lama.

In 1703 Lhabzang Khan succeeded his father, Dalai Khan, grandson of Tibet's administrative ruler, Gu-shri Khan, to govern the area. His power struggle with Sangs-rgyas grew worse. In 1705 when he found out Sangs-rgyas's plot to assassinate him, he had him arrested and executed. At the same time he dethroned Tshangs-dbyangs and replaced him with Ye-shes rgya-mtsho. The Mongol ruler reported all this to Emperor Kangxi. The emperor not only endorsed his actions but conferred a title of honour on him with a gold seal of authority. He also gave orders for the Sixth Dalai Lama installed by Sangs-rgyas to be taken to Beijing. The dethroned Dalai, however, died of illness on the way in 1706 near Qinghai Lake.

The new Dalai Lama installed by Lhabzang Khan was not acceptable to the monastic leaders of the Yellow Sect. There was an air of unrest in Tibet. Thus, Emperor Kangxi decided that it would be inadvisable to let Lhabzang Khan monopolize the administration of Tibetan affairs. In 1709 he sent a *Shilang* (vice-minister) to Tibet

to govern jointly with the Mongol Khan. Then in 1713 he dispatched an envoy to confer the title of "Panchen Erdeni" on Blo-bzang Ye-shes, the Fifth Panchen, as a means of appeasement.

Earlier, about 1710, the high lamas of the three major monasteries had sought out the "soul boy" supposed to be the incarnation of Tshangs-dbyangs and in 1716 sent him to the Sku-'bum Monastery in Qinghai to become a monk. This boy, Skal-bzang rgya-mtsho, was recognized by the monastic leaders of the Yellow Sect as the Sixth Dalai. The Qing court had to confirm this claim since Tshangs-dbyangs had been dethroned as the Sixth Dalai and Ye-shes, who had been installed by Lhabzang Khan, was not recognized by the public. That is why there were three Sixth Dalais in Tibetan history.

Nevertheless the high lamas of the Yellow Sect claimed Skal-bzang as the incarnation of Tshangs-dbyangs and insisted on his being the Seventh Dalai. In this the Qing court later acquiesced.

## EMPLOYING MILITARY MEANS TO RESTORE ORDERLY GOVERNMENT

In 1717 the chieftain of the Dzungar Mongols, Tshe-dbang rab-brtan, who had his headquarters in Yili in the foothills of the Tianshan Mountains to the north, sent an expedition to invade Tibet. The Dzungars occupied Lhasa, killed Lhabzang Khan and deposed Ye-shes. They committed arson, killings, and pillage. All the major monasteries in Tibet were ransacked and the stolen valuables carried off to Yili. Tibetan society was left in chaos. Production was seriously hampered.

Twice did the Qing court send troops, between 1718 and 1720, into Tibet to fight the Mongol invaders. Tibetans led by Khang-chen-nas and Pho-lha-nas, officials of the Lhabzang Khan administration, attacked the enemy-occupied Lhasa from the Mnga'-ris and Gzhis-kha-rtse line in coordination with the Qing troops. Meanwhile another official of the old government, Nga-phod-pa, organized a people's force in the Kong-po region east of Lhasa. By August 1720 the Mongol invaders were driven out of Tibet. The Tibetan people expressed great appreciation for the Qing court's military action. Indeed, the Qing expedition played a positive role in consolidating China's southwestern border land and safeguarding national unification.



The last military action the Qing court took in Tibet to ensure orderly government was due to a power struggle which broke out in 1727 within the Tibetan ruling class. A Bka'-blon (or Kaloon, Minister of Council), named Nga-phod-pa, in collaboration with two other Bka'-blon, Lum-pa-nas and Sbyar-ra-nas, murdered the chief Bka'-blon, Khang-chen-nas. Consequently, the victim's trusted associate, Pho-lha-nas, who also was a Bka'-blon, launched a punitive expedition from Gzhis-kha-rtse and conquered Lhasa in 1728. He put the three rival Bka'-blon under house arrest and waited for the Qing court's instructions. Learning of the internecine strife in Tibet, the Qing court sent an armed force to the area to help restore peace and order. By the time its expedition arrived, Pho-lha-nas had consolidated his power. The Qing court then recognized him as the ruler of Tibet. It granted him the title of "prince" and ordered his three rival Bka'-blon to be executed.

## "DIVIDE AND RULE" POLICY

After this incident, the Qing court keenly felt it was necessary to divide existing local ruling power so as to facilitate its jurisdiction over the area. In 1728 it gave orders for Kangding, Litang, Batang and other places east of the Khams region to come under the administration of Sichuan Province; for Zhongdian, Weixi, Deqin and other places south of the Khams to come under the ad-

ministration of Yunnan Province; and for the districts stretching from the west of Gzhis-kha-rtse to Mnga'-ris to come under the jurisdiction of the Fifth Panchen Lama. After repeated refusals the Panchen at last accepted the three *rdzong* (counties) of Lha-rtse, Ngam-ring and Phun-tshogs-gling adjacent to the seat of his spiritual rule as being under his administration.

Earlier the Qing court had taken steps to implement a "divide and rule" policy. In 1723 Blo-bzang bstan-'dzin, a tribal chief of the Hoshod Mongols, started a rebellion in an attempt to secure the ruling power over Tibet that his grandfather Gu-shri Khan had enjoyed. Although the rebellion was quickly put down by the Qing army under the command of Nian Gengyao, the Qing court felt it necessary to tighten its control over the area by that new policy. Not long afterwards it ordered that settlement of the great majority of the Tibetans in the Qinghai region be confined to south of the Yellow River and marked out the area north of the river for the Mongols to settle. That left few communities of Tibetans north of the river since they, being nearer to the hinterland, were easier to control. Again, it divided the Tibetans south of the river into forty-one communities, each governed by officials at various levels down to headmen known as *qian hu* ("1,000 households") and *bai hu* ("100 households"). Many years later, in the early 19th century, it cut down the power of a *qian hu* by setting up seven headmen to govern some 2,000. Thus, each headman, or *qian hu*, was actually responsible for 300. The number of the households under the *bai hu* administration remained approximately the same. The Qing court placed the Tibetans in what is now Gansu Province under the government of different Qing-ruled prefectures. Only a limited amount of power was delegated to the temporal and clerical figures of the upper strata in these Tibetan communities.



## RESHUFFLING ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

After frustrating a plot engineered by 'Gyur-med rnam-rgyal, Tibetan hereditary prince who was the second son of Pho-lha-nas, the Qing court in 1751 made important changes in Tibet's administrative structure. It rescinded the post of prince and created that of Bka'-shag (Kashag), Tibetan local government. The Bka'-shag consisted of four Bka'-blon — one monk and three laymen — who jointly took charge of Tibetan local affairs. The Bka'-blon had to obtain the approval of the Amban (imperial representative) and the Dalai Lama on important issues. Bka'-blon and other important officials were appointed by the Qing court. In 1751 the Qing court also officially authorized the Dalai Lama to take charge of the administration of Tibet. This marks the inception of the merging temporal and spiritual government.

The Seventh Dalai Lama died in 1757. With this temporal and spiritual position left vacant, Emperor Qian-long named Demo, the grand Living Buddha of the Bstan-rgyas-gling Monastery in Tibet, as the Regent. He was to take over the Dalai's powers before the "soul boy" was sought out or the new Dalai reached eighteen, the legal age for a Dalai to assume office. That was the beginning of Tibet's system of regency.

## DRIVING OUT GURKHA INVADERS

In 1791 the rulers of the Gurkhas in the Kingdom of Nepal since the mid-18th century invaded Tibet. That year they created an incident and sent a large number of troops to raid Gzhis-kha-rtse, headquarters of the Seventh Panchen, Bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, who consequently fled to Lhasa. The famous Bkra-shis-lhun-po Monastery in Gzhis-kha-rtse was ransacked.

On being informed by the Tibetan local government of the foreign invasion, the Qing court promptly sent a large force under the command of Fukang'an to Tibet.

With the support of patriotic Tibetan people in all walks of life, the Qing troops drove all the Gurkha invaders out of Chinese territory by July 1792. The Tibetan people were relieved of sufferings imposed on them by the Gurkhas and China's southwestern border land was safeguarded.

The expeditionary army to Tibet was composed of Hans, Manchus, Mongols, Ewenkis Dawurs and the Tibetans from various regions close to the interior. The anti-aggression war they fought served to enhance not only the patriotism of the Tibetan people but also their friendship for other nationalities of the Chinese nation.

## THE TWENTY-NINE-ARTICLE ORDINANCE OF GOVERNMENT

The Qing court felt that a major reason for Tibet's impotence in resisting the Gurkha invasion lay in the drawbacks of its institutions and the rampant corruption of its officials. Determined to improve the area's administration, Emperor Qianlong gave Fukang'an, commander of the expeditionary army, an order: "A proper ordinance should be laid down after the withdrawal of the army for Tibet to abide by at all times." Returning to his headquarters in Lhasa after defeating the Gurkhas, Fukang'an, together with the relevant Tibetan dignitaries, began to work out the ordinance. His effort, which had the sincere support of the Eighth Dalai, 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho, resulted in the publication and enforcement in 1793 of the Twenty-nine-Article Ordinance for the More Efficient Governing of Tibet.

The ordinance prescribed the status and powers of the Amban, the imperial representative, pointing to his power of supervising Tibetan affairs and his equal status with the Dalai and the Panchen. Other provisions concerning civil administration included the following:

The incarnation of the Dalai, the Panchen and the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in various parts of Tibet



is subject to the supervision and authorization by the Amban;

All the civilian and military officials of Tibetan local government below the status of the Bka'-blon shall be nominated by the Amban jointly with the Dalai and appointed by the central government;

The promotion, demotion, removal, rewarding or punishment of the above-mentioned officials shall be the responsibility of the Amban;

Criminal sentences shall be reported to the Amban;

Census registers for the manors of the officials, nobles and monasteries shall be submitted both to the Amban and to the Dalai for reference.

Concerning defence, the ordinance prescribed a local standing army system. The army's quota was 3,000 men, who were to garrison Lhasa, Gzhis-kha-rtse and other cities. It also laid down a series of regulations for the establishment, provision, reward and punishment of local military units as well as for the garrison troops from the central government in Beijing.

The ordinance stipulated that authority over foreign affairs be concentrated in the central government and that foreign affairs involving Tibet be left completely in the hands of the Amban. Correspondence from foreign countries contiguous to Tibet which was forwarded to the Dalai and the Panchen was subject to censorship by the Amban, who then undertook to give the needed replies for the grand lamas. Foreign traders had to obtain a permit issued by the Amban and perform the necessary formalities before they were permitted to reside in Tibet. The frequency of their visits and the duration of their stay were restricted. They were to enter and leave by the appointed outposts of the tax office and be inspected.

In finance, the ordinance provided for the establishment of a special body which was to supervise the minting of silver coins, standardizing the purity of the metal used and fixing the rates of exchange for other currencies. It

stipulated that the local government's taxes, levies, revenues and expenditure were all to be checked by the Amban and that an increase or reduction of the corvée service and taxes throughout Tibet, as well as the amount of the stored grain in various parts of the region, was also to be sanctioned or regulated by him.

The ordinance represented the height of the Qing administration of Tibet; it embodied their absolute rule over the region. It served to strengthen and promote relations between the central and the local government, between Tibetans and people of other nationalities. At the same time it contributed to national defence, social stability, and the lightening of the people's economic burden.

## MILITARY SUPPRESSION

In the early years of the reign of Emperor Qianlong, the local chieftain of the Greater Jin Chuan, Solopen, had differences with the Lesser Jin Chuan. Both places were situated in what is now northern Sichuan Province. In an attempt to fish in troubled waters, the Qing court sent troops to intervene. Unexpectedly Solopen put up armed resistance. To give a show of force, the emperor amassed a still larger force to attack the Greater Jin Chuan in 1747. Entrenching themselves in fortified places, Solopen's troops fought stubbornly and inflicted heavy losses on the attackers. The fighting dragged on for two years until 1749 when Solopen saw no way out but surrender.

In 1771, after two decades or more, the local chieftains of the Greater and Lesser Jin Chuan, Bsod-nams and Seng-ge bzang, mounted a rebellion against the Qing. It took the Qing five years and cost it 70 million liang (roughly 3.5 million kilogrammes) of silver and more casualties than in the previous expedition to put down the rebellion.

These two campaigns were different in character from



the others carried out by the Qing in the Tibetan areas. They gave expression to the Qing's policy of national oppression, and they brought serious consequences upon the life, production and even population growth of the Tibetan people in the affected areas.

## POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE SIDES

To sum up, the major portions of the Qing court's administration of the Tibetan areas, portions that were of great political significance and played a positive role, should be justified. On the other hand, such measures and practices as indicative of national discrimination, national oppression, "divide and rule", forced assimilation, should be criticized. This negative side is but inevitable in view of the class character of the Qing government, which represented the interests of the feudal rulers of Manchu and Han nationalities. A centralized authority like the Qing government could not but resort to all means of chauvinism.

*Chapter XIII*

# WESTERN CAPITALIST COUNTRIES' AGGRESSION

In the early years of the 16th century the rising Western bourgeoisie, while exploiting the people at home, began their military conquests and predatory activities abroad. Feudal China and India, with their large markets, big populations and rich natural resources, naturally became their targets of aggression.

In 1510 the Portuguese colonialists first occupied India's Goa. In 1514 their merchants intruded into China's coastal waters in Guangdong and seized Macao in 1557 by trickery and bribery. Subsequently, colonialists from Spain, Holland, Britain and France set foot on Chinese soil one after another.

## ESPIONAGE BEHIND MISSIONARY WORK

In those days a striking feature of Western capitalist countries' encroachments into China was their use of missionaries as vanguards. Under the cloak of religion, they carried out espionage activities as they toured the interior provinces and border regions. A highland area like Tibet with its tremendously rugged terrain was not exempt from such activities.

In August 1624 Christian missionaries from Portugal, De Andrade and Marques, disguised as Hindus, set off from Goa and crossed the Himalayas to arrive in the Rtsa-hreng region (modern Rtsa-mda' County) in western Tibet. They presented a handsome gift to the local lord,





Gu-ge, and with his support founded the first Christian church on the Tibetan plateau. Not long after, the Pope in Rome sent three priests from Goa to help with the expansion of the church. The result was the establishment of an associated church in two different places.

## MISSIONARY WORK COMES TO GRIEF

Nevertheless, the Tibetans, who were adherents of Lamaism, showed little interest in what the missionaries preached and came to resent the foreigners' unrestricted activities. As a result, within the space of several years, there were no more than a dozen or so Tibetans who had been baptised.

Eventually, the missionary work came into conflict with the normal activities of the lamaseries. The local lord, Gu-ge, who had been bribed, cracked down on the lamas. Instead of supporting them, he confiscated the lamasery income and even coerced them to leave the religious order. This aroused the local people's indignation. With active response from chieftains and subjects under them, the lamas took the lead in opposing the local lord. A sweeping rebellion overthrew his rule. All the foreign missionaries were held in custody and finally deported. This courageous, determined move was a shock to the West and marks the first victory the Tibetan people scored against foreign intruders.

In reply to the request of the Portugese priest, De Andrade, who was working in western Tibet, the Society of Jesus in India sent two missionaries from Bengal to eastern Tibet to spread the gospel. Arriving in Gzhis-kha-rtse in early 1628, these clerics presented a generous gift to the ruler of Tibet, Bstan-skyong dbang-po, and asked his permission to do missionary work. Faced with strong opposition from the local lamas, they ultimately failed in setting up any mission there.

At the beginning of the 18th century, brethren from the

Capuchin Mission of the Catholic church, Giuseppe, De Fano and others, came to Lhasa from Nepal on different occasions with the intention of setting up a mission there. But due to material difficulties they gave up and De Fano returned to Rome in 1713.

In 1714 the Society of Jesus in Rome sent two clerics, Desideri and Freyre, to Lhasa to do missionary work. At the time they arrived in 1716, Tibet was under the rule of Lhabzang Khan, a chieftain of the Hoshod Mongols, who had been appointed to his post by the Qing court. Desideri cured the Mongol ruler's disease and attempted to push forward his undertaking by making use of the Tibetan sovereign's position. By this time, however, the Yellow Sect of Lamaism headed by the Dalai Lama had gained religious rule over Tibet and Desideri's attempt met with failure. Thereupon, the Mongol leader suggested that he study Lamaist doctrines and Buddhist scriptures and try to use these in his missionary work. Desideri did enter the Se-ra and other monasteries to study Buddhist scriptures, thus creating a precedent for other Europeans to do the same.

During his stay in Lhasa, Desideri began writing in Tibetan to refute Lamaist doctrines and to preach the gospel. The Tibetan people resented this. In 1717 he lost his patron, Lhabzang Khan, when he was killed during the Dzungar Mongol invasion. Finding it difficult to remain in Lhasa, Desideri returned to India by way of Nepal in 1721.

Later, Desideri came back to Lhasa with other clerics and established a Catholic church. But their work made little progress as Tibetan Buddhism was deeply entrenched. Consequently, the church founded by the Capuchin Sect closed in 1745. There are no records of foreign missionaries working in Lhasa since that time. The departed missionaries left practically nothing behind except for a small bronze bell inscribed with some Latin words in the Jokhang Temple.



During the more than a century from 1624 when Christian clerics made their first appearance in western Tibet to the closure of the Catholic church in Lhasa in 1745, foreign missionary work had little success in Tibet. During that period the Yellow Sect of Lamaism, headed by the Dalai and under the patronage and support of the Qing central government, won a dominant position in Tibetan society. Lamaism became an orthodox religion exerting far-reaching influence on Tibetan life. Since the European clerics' preaching was not in accord with the traditional Tibetan faith, it was rejected by the Tibetans.

## BRITISH INTRUSIONS

With the rapid development of her capitalist economy from the 18th century onward, Britain's colonial forces seized the dominant position in Asia and replaced Portugal, Italy and Holland. The East India Company, which was designed to monopolize the Eastern trade and exploit the Asian people, played an important role in Britain's encroachments on India and China.

In March 1768 the London administration of the East India Company entrusted its agent in India with the job of collecting information about whether cotton cloth and other European goods could be transported by way of Nepal to Tibet and other western regions of China and find markets there. Two years later the board of directors of the company proposed sending a military mission to Tibet's border. This proposal was carried out in 1773 when a mission was dispatched to Bhutan. The mission was composed of British colonial troops which met with the determined resistance from the Bhutanese people, but Britain was successful in using force to obtain the right to send a "mission" to Tibet by way of Nepal.

In May 1774 the first Viceroy of India, Warren Hastings, on orders of the British empire, sent a well-prepared

exploratory group to Tibet. This mission was headed by George Bogle, secretary of the East India Company. Prior to his departure Hastings had instructed Bogle to make a general survey of the vast expanse of land between Lhasa and Siberia, to investigate communications in this area and to learn about roads and inhabitants along the routes from Bengal to Lhasa and from Lhasa to its adjacent areas. The mission head was also to try to conclude a trade agreement between Bengal and Tibet and to have a British trade agency set up in Lhasa.

In November of the same year, Bogle came to Gzhis-kha-rtse by way of Bhutan. Under the pretext of conducting trade on basis of equality, he first interviewed the Sixth Panchen and presented a letter and a gift from Hastings. He requested the Panchen's good offices to conclude local trade agreements that would grant British traders free access to Tibet. Tibetan officials in Lhasa informed him that as Tibet was part of China, the power of concluding agreements or treaties rested in the hands of the Qing central government; the Tibetan local government had no say in this matter. He then made efforts to sign a trade agreement covering Inner Tibet, which was under the administration of the Panchen, only to be rejected by the latter.

Although he failed in concluding trade arrangements with Tibet, Bogle was successful in other ways. Every day in Gzhis-kha-rtse he donned Tibetan apparel and mixed with nobles and merchants. Such contacts made him one of the earliest Britons well acquainted with Tibetan conditions. After he returned to India, he supplied the East India Company with intelligence. His conclusion was: it was difficult for Europeans to trade or settle in Tibet and if Tibet's door was to be opened and their trade with the region initiated, it could only be done by making use of the Asians and their commercial organizations.

In 1779 the East India Company was faced with a financial crisis. It was in bad need of gold which could be



obtained only by dumping large quantities of the company's goods. In 1783 Hastings, on the pretext of extending congratulations to the Seventh Panchen Lama on his installation, sent Samuel Turner and T. Saunders to Tibet to try to gain commercial concessions. Turner stayed at the Bkra-shis-lhun-po Monastery for three months without concluding a trade agreement. By then the snowing up of the mountain passes through which he had to go on his way home was imminent, and he was obliged to hurry back. Prior to his departure a Tibetan official assured him that the Chinese central government, as well as the Dalai Lama, had no intention of permitting the British to trade in Tibet, nor were foreigners allowed to visit the holy place of Lhasa.

In his report made to his superiors following his return to India, Turner enumerated the commodities exportable to Tibet. He also pointed out that the Tibetans had no trust in the Europeans and that the failure of Bogle to carry out his second visit to Tibet as planned had added to the difficulty in effecting Indian and Tibetan trade. In a provocative tone he described the contradiction between officials from the Qing court and local Tibetan officials and stated that the Qing's rule over Tibet was the basic obstruction to prospective trade.

While the visits of Bogle and Turner failed to achieve their major object, they did gather important information on Tibet's politics, economy, nationality, religion and other fields. Such information stimulated the aggressive designs of the British colonialists. On the other hand, it made the government of British India aware, to its disappointment, that, as part of the Chinese empire, Tibet's foreign affairs were subject to the emperor's discretion. Moreover, Tibet, with its long-standing feudal self-sufficient economy, was not interested in commercial relations with foreigners. The vast majority of Tibetans cherished misgivings about the British, who had invaded

India; and they were reluctant to make contacts with Europeans in general.

## BRITAIN'S CHANGED TACTICS

Tibet used to be protected by a natural barrier formed by Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan — countries in the Himalayas that maintained close traditional relations with Tibet in the political, economic, religious and cultural fields. Aware of this the British government concluded that to make effective inroads into Tibet, it was necessary to put these countries under its control and turn them into a springboard for its aggressive activities. In 1814 Britain launched an aggressive war against Nepal, followed by piecemeal encroachment on the other small Himalayan countries.

When Nepal was invaded by the British army, the Nepalese royal house appealed to the Qing court for material assistance in resisting the aggressors. It warned that the British invasion of Nepal was aimed at forcing open the door to Tibet and that if Nepal lost the war it would no longer be able to pay tribute to the Qing court. Although Tibet's security was at stake, the corrupt Qing government paid no heed to the warning. Instead of giving the needed help, it criticized the Nepalese for their appeal.

Having lost the war, Nepal was obliged to sign an unequal treaty with Britain, the Treaty of Segolie, in 1816. Under this treaty Nepal had to cede a large expanse of territory to Britain, had to have a resident British envoy in Katmandu and had to give Britain the right to arbitrate disputes between Nepal and Sikkim. Such terms paved the way for Britain to interfere with the internal affairs of the two countries.

The next year, in 1817, Britain, in exchange for the return of Sikkim's former territory which it had taken over from the defeated Nepal, obtained Sikkim's signature to the Treaty of Titalya. Under this treaty Sikkim



gave Britain the right to arbitrate disputes between itself and Nepal. Subsequently, Britain entrenched itself in Sikkim on the pretext of arbitrating disputes. In 1835 it forced the lease of the scenic Darjeeling as a health resort for the East India Company. Thereupon, it set up another strategic point in the Himalayas.

In the 1820's Britain resumed its expansionist activities in Bhutan. In 1826 the East India Company, after occupying Assam, engineered differences in the area bordering on Assam and Bhutan. Then British troops occupied several mountain passes that belonged to Bhutan. At the same time Britain carried out piecemeal encroachment in China's Lho-yul region in the eastern section of the Himalayas. By the eve of the Opium War it launched in 1840, Britain had expanded its aggression into Kashmir, Ladakh and the Western section of the Himalayas. The ring around Tibet was complete. Consequently, Tibet's frontiers were exposed to British inroads.

*Chapter XIV*

# BATTLE FOR MOUNT LUNG-MDO

## The Tibetans' First Struggle Against British Invasion

Following the Opium War Western capitalist countries used the gunboat to force open the gate to China and steadily reduced her to a semi-colonial, semi-feudal society. Taking advantage of the unequal treaties they had signed with the Qing court, they carried out infiltration activities in Chinese border areas. Beginning in the 1870's, Britain, Russia and France, in particular, sent large numbers of "exploratory" or "tourist" groups to the Tibetan areas. These groups conducted surveys of the mountains, rivers, climate, communications, resources and make detailed maps. This data was submitted to their respective governments and was used for aggressive purposes.

### BRITAIN STEPS UP ESPIONAGE

Britain went a step further by training a number of Indians and nationals of countries adjacent to Tibet as spies. Equipped with modern surveying apparatuses and disguised as traders or lamas, they entered Tibet by various routes.

In 1874 Britain sent an armed exploratory team from Burma into Yunnan on the pretext of opening up communications between the two areas. The team's activities led to an incident in which a British diplomatic official, A.R. Margary, was murdered. Seizing this incident as a





pretext, the British government compelled the Qing government to sign an additional unequal treaty, the Chefoo Convention. A special article concerning Tibet provided for Britain's right to send personnel from China's interior to explore the landroute between India and Tibet. The Chinese government was to provide security for the said personnel as well as issue them passports.

### TIBETANS' STRONG REACTION

In 1879 the British government sent W. Gill and others to Tibet by way of Sichuan and Khams. As the party reached Batang, Sichuan, they were halted by local people. At that time the Tibetan local government also sent a circular to the local lords in Batang and nearby places instructing them to expell all foreigners in their domains. The directive stressed that no foreigner was to be permitted to pass by, still less be greeted or escorted.

Earlier, the Tibetan local government had called a meeting of local chieftains in both Inner and Outer Tibet to discuss how to deal with foreign intruders. It was resolved that efforts should first be made to persuade the intruders to withdraw; and that if they insisted on going further, military action, even by the whole Tibetan people, temporal and ecclesiastical alike, should be taken against them. That decision was then transmitted to the Qing court. The British government was faced with the Tibetans' determination to resist and took warning from the repeated failures suffered by "explorers" from various countries who tried to sneak into Lhasa from Qinghai, Xinjiang and western Tibet. They had to give up for a time their attempts to send men into Tibet.

### BRITISH "COMMERCIAL INQUIRY MISSION" HELD AT BAY

In 1885 the government of British India sent a "commercial inquiry mission" headed by Colman Macaulay, an

official of the Indian Civil Service to Tibet under the pretext of surveying Tibet's mineral deposits. This was the first British party that had officially passed through Sikkim into Tibet since the British put Sikkim under its control. Arriving in Gampa in southern Tibet in 1886, Macaulay's party was halted by the local chief and inhabitants. He threatened to send in thousands of troops to punish the Tibetans if they persisted in stopping his party. The Tibetans kept the British party at bay for several months and they were forced to withdraw.

## BRITISH SCHEMING SEEN THROUGH

This happened at a time when the British government was concentrating its efforts on annexing Burma. In 1886 Great Britain and the Qing signed the Sino-British Convention Relating to Burma. This was a *quid pro quo* for rescinding an article of the Chefoo Convention which granted Britain the right to send a mission of exploration into Tibet. In accordance with the treaty relating to Burma, the Qing recognized Britain's annexation of Burma and its supremacy there. Britain agreed that "if insuperable obstacles should be found to exist, [in regard to making arrangements for frontier trade between India and Tibet] the British Government will not press the matter unduly". But such terms were merely rhetorical. Once the British government believed it was in complete control of Burma, it began new aggressive acts by making use of trade or border issues.

The Tibetans had already perceived the hypocrisy and trickery of the British intruders. They were convinced that the British would never abandon their goal of entering Tibet. When Britain actively set up shops and trading organizations in Sikkim's Darjeeling, the Tibetan people as well as the Tibetan local government saw that these would attract Han and Tibetan traders. They feared that these traders would somehow serve British aggression and they believed that the expected prosperity of the town would lead to calamities as plotted by the British.



## TIBETANS UNYIELDING

Tibetan local government thus appealed to the Qing court for a ban against both Han and Tibetan traders going to Darjeeling. Beginning in 1884, the Tibetans had taken precautionary measures to block British intrusions. It set up fortified posts at the strategic passes along the Tibet-Sikkim border. Moreover, a big blockhouse manned by more than 200 troops was constructed on Mount Lung-mdo. Meanwhile, it sent an emissary to Sikkim to persuade her king to stay in Tibet so as to avoid being pressured by the British.

The British accused the Tibetans of obstructing trade and blocking the Gurkhas' way east to India. In 1887 the British legation in Beijing sent a note to the Qing government asserting that Mount Lung-mdo was located in Sikkim's territory which was under its "protection". Therefore, the stationing of troops there constituted an act of intrusion. She strongly demanded and gave a deadline by which the garrison troops were to be evacuated and the blockhouse to be pulled down. Otherwise, Britian would resort to force.

The Opium War and several succeeding foreign wars which it lost had fully exposed the Qing government's incompetence. Too demoralized to resist any further foreign invasion, it sought momentary peace in disregard of the nation's territorial rights. Thus, the Qing ordered the Amban Wen Shuo to evacuate the Tibetan garrison at Mount Lung-mdo.

The Tibetan people were determined to defend their motherland. They challenged the Qing's acceding to British pressure and declared their resolve to resist the British invasion. The Tibetan local government more

than once submitted reports to the Amban and the Qing central authorities assuring them that the repeated British intrusions were not for the purpose of opening trade with Tibet but had territorial designs behind them. The Tibetans were resolved to fight the invaders to the end . Persuaded, the Amban in his memorial to the throne expressed his disapproval of the Qing government's submission to British pressure and its insistence on the Tibetan evacuation. He noted that since ancient times Mount Lung-mdo and its adjacent land had been part of Tibet. The establishment there of an outpost as a defensive measure was justified. If they were compelled to withdraw from the outpost, he warned, the Tibetans might make a reckless move and cause even greater trouble. Therefore, all preparations should be made for war so as to effectively cope with the British provocations.

Such a hard-line position was bound to be rejected by the bungling Qing government. Accusing him of being "preposterous and ignorant of the overall situation", the Qing removed him from office and replaced him with more compliant official, Sheng Tai.

## PRIMITIVE ARMS AGAINST MODERN WEAPONS

The British at last launched an attack on Mount Lung-mdo in early 1888. Tibetan reinforcements rushed to the battlefield day and night while the civilians, temporal and religious alike, actively helped raise grain supplies in support of the front. Fired with patriotism and encouraged by their people, the defenders with their primitive arms such as bows and arrows, broad swords, stone-throwers and home-made firearms stood firm. Taking advantage of the commanding height, they repeatedly beat back the far better equipped invaders. Later the British threw in large reinforcements and fiercely bombarded the Tibetan position with heavy guns. To strengthen their position the defenders threw up in a single night a rampart about one and a half miles long. That was done under enemy fire. They held out against heavy odds for some time. It was only for the purpose of preserving their effectiveness that the defenders withdrew to the Gromo River valley. Reinforcements came from different places until in August of that year the troops and militiamen assembled in Yadong reached over 10,000.



By that time the Tibetans' heroic struggle in defence of Mount Lung-mdo had inspired the patriotic forces in Sikkim and Bhutan to regroup. Consequently, Britian had withdrawn part of its invading troops from Tibet to deal with the unrest in its rear areas. This greatly boosted the morale of the Tibetans.

The newly appointed Amban, Sheng Tai, who was an executor of the Qing court's non-resistance policy, arrived in Tibet to assume office at a time when Tibetan troops were regrouping in preparation for a counter-attack. He lost no time in urging the local government to make peace with the British and ordered the Tibetan troops to evacuate the frontline. This seriously affected the morale of the defenders.

Later, with reinforcements, the British invaders began to shell the Tibetan positions with heavy artillery. Deprived of effective government support, the defenders lost a series of towns. Thus, the first struggle of the Tibetan people against British armed aggression failed.

## UNEQUAL TREATIES SIGNED

In October 1888 the Qing government sent the Amban, Sheng Tai, to the frontline at Yadong to negotiate peace with the British. Meanwhile, the Zongli Yamen (Administrative Council) appointed an Englishman James Hart, brother of the Customs Administration official, Robert Hart, as his interpreter and assistant. Posing as a mediator, Hart secretly supplied intelligence to the

British while putting pressure on Sheng Tai to give in on many of the agenda items.

In February 1890 the Qing government sent Sheng Tai to Calcutta to sign the Anglo-Chinese Convention Relating to Sikkim and Tibet. This treaty obligated the Qing government to recognize the British government's protectorate over Sikkim. Furthermore, by imposing on China the British proposed boundary of Sikkim and Tibet, China was deprived of large tracts of pasturage as well as places of strategic importance from Mount Lung-mdo to Gampa County. In 1893 the British pressured the Qing government to sign the Regulations Regarding Trade, Communication, and Pasturage to be Appended to the Sikkim-Tibet Convention of 1890. China agreed to establish at Yadong a trade mart open to all British subjects, who were also to enjoy extra-territorial rights. Moreover, she was to grant duty-free entry to British goods across the Sikkim-Tibet frontier for five years.

These two treaties harmed China's sovereignty. They allowed Britain to control Tibet's economy and interfere with its internal affairs, thus paving the way for further infiltration into Tibet. In addition the conclusion of the two documents cut off the historical ties between Sikkim and Tibet.

## TIBETANS' INDIGNANT REACTION

The signing of the two treaties and the Amban Sheng Tai's treacherous behaviour before and after that aroused great indignation among the Tibetan people. Enraged people, including monks of the three major Tibetan monasteries, blocked his way as he returned from India. They handed him protests, denouncing him for "betraying the Tibetans while currying favour with the British". They declared that they would never come to terms with the British aggressors. Many Tibetans refused to provide the labour service needed demarcating the boundary;



others pulled down the boundary stones set up by the British. Nobody recognized the watershed at Mount Gipmochi as the Tibet-Sikkim boundary line. Tibetans continued to graze their herds on the pastures of Mount Gipmochi. Actions like these prevented the extension of British aggressive activities.

The battle of Mount Lung-mdo of 1888 was a just strugggle waged by the Tibetan people against British armed aggression. It represented a facet of the heroic struggle the Chinese nation carried out in the latter part of the 19th century against capitalist powers attempting to reduce China to a colony. Fail as it did on account of the Qing government's non-resistance policy, the flames of indignation burning in the Tibetan people's hearts over foreign aggression were never stamped out.

*Chapter XV*

# RGYAL-RTSE BATTLE

## The Tibetans' Second Struggle Against British Invasion

### RIVALRIES AMONG CAPITALIST POWERS

From the late 19th century to the early 20th century world capitalism embarked on the stage of imperialism. The capitalist powers scrambled for colonies and sought to partition small or weak countries in various parts of the world. Following the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the imperialists vied with each other in exporting capital to China, extending loans to the Qing government, establishing banks and factories, building railways and opening mines.

At the same time they launched a campaign of dismembering China by grabbing "leased territories" and carving out "spheres of influence".

Russia, Japan, Britain and the United States were locked in the struggle for dominance in northeast China. Britain and Russia were also engaged in rivalries in Tibet as well as in Iran and Afghanistan. Using Tibet as a springboard, Britain attempted to link India with its sphere of influence in the Changjiang (Yangtze) River valley and then proceed to put central and southern China under its control. Czarist Russia, aware of the strategic importance of Tibet, was also eager to annex the area and use it as a base to extend its aggressive activities into South Asian subcontinent.





### BRITAIN MAKES HEADWAY IN TRADE WITH TIBET

Great Britain was more successful than Russia in accomplishing its goals in Tibet. Taking advantage of India's border with Tibet, it launched in 1888 the first armed invasion into the area. Then, making use of the political and economic privileges grabbed by imposing unequal treaties on the Qing government it began to push into the heartland of Tibet.

After Yadong was opened as a trade mart as provided for in the unequal treaty of 1893, Britain stepped up its economic aggression. As a result its trade with the Tibetan area increased yearly. The turnover handled through Yadong more than quadrupled in the six years from 1889 to 1895. Large quantities of wool, musk, yak tails, leather and other native and special products were shipped to India. British manufactured goods, particularly cotton and woollen textiles, poured into Tibet.

### BRITISH CAPITALISTS GROW MORE COVETOUS

Nonetheless, British capitalists were not content. Manufacturers of woollen textiles and British tea associations in India were especially eager to have their government demand reductions in custom duties and the establishment of other favourable conditions of trade from China. They wanted a free hand in importing wool and leather from Tibet while dumping their textiles or tea there.

British capitalists hoped that once their commodities entered more remote Tibetan markets, the sales of woollen textiles and cloth would increase considerably. Once accomplished, it would be possible for them to transport these goods directly to Sichuan and northwestern provinces without paying the various kinds of levies then required at Chinese seaports.

The British bourgeoisie also sought to gain control over

Tibet's mineral resources. Descriptions of Tibet as a place abounding in gold are not lacking in writings by those who visited there. In his work *Tibet, the Mysterious,* Sir Thomas Holdich described Tibet's gold deposit as enormous, probably larger than any other in the whole world. Although such descriptions were exaggerated they did fire the British bourgeoisie with the desire to turn Tibet into a vassal of the British empire.

## BRITISH FRESH INROADS

In 1899 Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, in disregard of the Chinese central government's sovereignty over Tibet, repeatedly wrote to the 13th Dalai Lama to seek the opening of talks with the Tibetan authorities on the conclusion of treaty in which Tibet would play the prominent role as a contracting party. This demand was rejected by both the Tibetan local government and the Dalai Lama. Exasperated, Curzon appealed to the home government for the dispatch of an armed mission to take Lhasa.

In May 1902 Britain, on the excuse of Tibet's alleged failure in honouring the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1890 and its alleged encroachment on the Indian border, sent an armed party of 200 headed by C. White into Gampa of Inner Tibet. They pulled down the demarcation stones, forced the Tibetan frontier guards to retreat, and looted. In July of the next year a second group of 300 troops was committed and was designed to pressure the Qing government to reopen talks on trade and boundary demarcation issues. The proposed talks, it was believed, would never be confined to such issues but would lead to the discussion of the creation of a relationship in which Tibet would be subordinate to Britain.

The Tibetan people were again enraged by Britain's unreasonable demand. They demanded that the Tibetan authorities request the Qing government to lodge a strong



protest with Britain. The British invaders must pull out from Gampa and not a single inch of Tibetan soil should be occupied, they declared. At the same time Tibetan local authorities sent an armed force of 700 to guard the approaches to the Gampa town in order to curb further British advance.

While the Tibetan local authorities were preoccupied with the Gampa situation, the British government sent an expeditionary army of 3,000 under the command of Francis Younghusband and J. Macdonald across the Himalayas through the Rdza-leb-la Pass. The invaders broke through the weakly defended Yadong-Phagri line and pushed toward the heartland of Tibet. By mid-December they took Yadong and Chu'bi and at the end of the month occupied Phagri. Faced with this onslaught, the Tibetan people rose in counterattack.

Earlier, when the British intruded into Gampa, the Tibetan local government had issued a conscription order covering both the subjects of the aristocrats and monasteries and the corvee labourers of the local government.

## TREACHEROUS MURDER STIFFENS RESISTANCE

In March 1904 the British invaders pressed forward from Phagri toward Rgyal-rtse (Gyangzê). They were met by 3,000 Tibetan troops south of Rgyal-rtse. Commander Younghusband proposed peace talks. Simultaneously, he had machineguns set up on the sly around the Tibetan troops. Taken unawares, the Tibetans were mowed down in cold blood by heavy fire. More than 1,000 men were killed, including the four officers negotiating with Younghusband. Those who survived the sudden fire held onto their position, some fighting hand to hand with the enemy.

This massacre further infuriated the wide mass of the Tibetan people. Accordingly, when the British advanced on Rgyal-rtse, they found themselves under constant

harassing attacks by the local inhabitants and their supply and transport lines threatened. On one occasion monk and lay people in Khang-dmar County, informed of the imminent arrival of a British raiding party, donned sheepskins and hid themselves among their sheep. As the raiders dismounted from their horses to seize the livestock, the ambushers made their move. Twenty or thirty of the intruders were killed and the rest fled.

## BATTLE FOR RGYAL-RTSE STARTS

On April 11, 1904, the British invaders with their superior troop strength and arms conquered Rgyal-rtse. They looted, burned and killed. Learning of the atrocities, Tibetan armymen and civilians organized themselves into fighting groups and went to the battlefield. They billeted along the roads from Rgyal-rtse northwest to Gzhis-kha-rtse and northeast to Lhasa and prepared to recapture the fallen city with primitive weapons.

On May 4 when the Tibetans had completed regrouping and deployment, they mounted a massive counterattack. One detachment, entrenched behind defence works on a commanding height along the route leading to Lhasa, served as a containing force. Another swept southward from this route and in a single night recaptured a series of important places in Rgyal-rtse County. A raiding party armed with broadswords and spears stormed its way into the British headquarters. When the aggressors were aroused from sleep, it was too late to offer any effective resistance. The British commanding officer, Younghusband, with a small retinue escaped southward.

The Tibetan army and people proceeded to put up defence works. They linked a number of strategic places into a complete defensive system. Time and again they beat back an enemy armed with modern weapons.

The situation took a turn in the enemy's favour in late June when Younghusband and Macdonald brought



reinforcements from India who were equipped with heavy guns and other modern weapons. To safeguard their supply line, the British launched an attack on the Gnas-rnying Monastery, a place of strategic importance to the southeast of Rgyal-rtse. For a time they were kept at bay by the defenders fighting from an advantageous geographic position. At last they demolished the monastery's walls and broke in. However, they came face to face with the militia defenders armed with broadswords. Hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The militiamen battled like lions and in some cases slashed their enemies in half. The British took the monastery but at a cost of more than 200 casualties. They ransacked the monastery and burned down its scripture reading hall.

## HEROIC DEFENCE OF STRATEGIC HILL

The battle in defence of Zongshan, a strategic hill, was a paean to the Tibetan defenders as well as a heavy blow to the British invaders. According to accounts given by Tibetans who took part in the battle for Rgyal-rtse, the attack was made on the hill from the northeast and the southeast. It began when heavy reinforcements came from Yadong under the command of Younghusband. Under cover of artillery fire, wave after wave the enemy infantrymen charged at the fortress atop the hill. Unruffled, the defenders did not hit back until the enemy came within close range. Short of drinking water, they made do with cesspool water which some of them risked their lives to go downhill to get at night. It was under such harsh conditions that they, armed with nothing more than rocks and home-made guns, held out for quite a few days. They beat back one enemy attack after another. At last their ammunition supply was blown up by enemy artillery fire. Despite that and the fact that their food supplies had run out, the defenders fought on for three more days and nights. They used rocks as their

weapons. In the end many of them, barehanded, grappled with the enemy at close quarters. Those who failed to break through the enemy encirclement leaped over the cliff to avoid being taken prisoner.

## AFTER THE FALL OF RGYAL-RTSE

After the fall of Rgyal-rtse the struggle against the British invasion took a drastic turn for the worse. The capitulationists who represented the interests of the big serf-owner class gained the upper hand in the Tibetan local government. Under their pressure the government issued an order for the Tibetan army and people to halt their resistance. They sent high officials as peace negotiators with the mission of persuading the British to halt their march on Lhasa. Ignoring the Tibetan local government's appeal for peace, Younghusband pressed towards Lhasa with 2,000 troops under his command and crossed the Yarlung Zangpo River at the end of July. The 13th Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa to the hinterland with a small body of retainers and officials. The Tibetan capital fell on August 3.

The British occupation army looted Lhasa. Even ordinary women's silver ornaments were not exempted from the pillage, let alone valuables. Cultural relics jealously kept in the monasteries and other places . . . including Buddhist scriptures and other books, Buddhist statues and porcelain . . . were especially prized. David Macdonald, an occupationist later appointed commercial commissioner in Rgyal-rtse, admitted that he alone was responsible for transporting a total of over 400 loads by pack animal to India.

## UNEQUAL TREATY IMPOSED

After the fall of Lhasa the Tibetan troops who withdrew to the eastern outskirts began harassing the British



occupationists. The armed lamas of the three major monasteries were also a menace to them. On one occasion the more daring ones broke into a British camp and wounded an officer. To forestall future terrorist acts, Younghusband demanded four hostages from the Tibetan local government and the three major monasteries.

Faced with acute shortages of food and fuel supplies and afraid that they would get bogged down in a hostile city, Younghusband and the other British commanding officers decided to leave Lhasa. On September 7, 1904, the British forced at gunpoint Dga'-ldan khri-pa, who acted for the absent Dalai Lama, and the representatives of the three major monasteries to sign at the Potala Palace the British dictated Treaty of Lhasa.

The main provisions of the treaty were:

1. The Tibetan local government undertakes to open forthwith Rgyal-rtse and Sgar-tog (now Sgar-dbyar-sa), in addition to Yadong, as trade marts. Britain shall enjoy the same special privileges at Rgyal-rtse and Sgar-tog as at Yadong.

2. The Tibetan local government agrees to pay a war indemnity of 500,000 pounds. As security for payment, Britain shall continue to occupy the Chu'bi Valley.

3. The Tibetan local government agrees to raze all forts and fortifications and remove all armaments which might impede the course of free communication between the British frontier and the towns of Rgyal-rtse and Lhasa.

4. The Tibetan local government agrees that, without the previous consent of the British government, —

(a) no portion of Tibetan territory shall be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation, to any foreign power;

(b) no such power shall be permitted to intervene in Tibetan affairs;

(c) no representatives or agents of any foreign power shall be admitted to Tibet;

(d) no concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining or other rights, shall be granted to any foreign power, or to the subject of any foreign power;

(e) no Tibetan revenues, whether in kind or in cash, shall be pledged or assigned to any foreign power, or to the subject of any foreign power.

The Treaty of Lhasa was an outcome of the Qing central government's capitulationist policy as well as of the vacillation and incompetence of the Tibetan local government. Through this treaty the British imperialists were able to consolidate the rights and interests they had obtained under the unequal treaties of 1890 and 1893. At the same time they derived further military, political and economic gain from the new treaty, thus making Tibet even more sub-colonial.

The treaty had no legal effect since it had not been approved or signed by the Qing central government. The British government pressed the Qing government, through diplomatic channels, to recognize it. On the other hand the Qing was aware that the treaty was an impairment of China's national sovereignty, it desired to save its face and negotiate with the British. Accordingly, it sent a vice-president of the Board of Foreign Affairs, Tang Shaoyi, to India for negotiations at the end of 1904. During the talks the British side demanded "suzerainty" in an attempt to write off China's sovereignty over Tibet and the negotiations became deadlocked. They were resumed in Beijing in 1906. The result was the Convention between Great Britain and China, which included the Treaty of Lhasa as an annexe.

Article two of the Convention stipulated: "The Government of Great Britain engages not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The Government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign state to interfere with the territory or



internal administration of Tibet." Thus, the British government recognized in effect China's sovereignty over Tibet and its plan of annexing the region was forestalled.

*Chapter XVI*

# CZARIST RUSSIA'S AGGRESSION

## TERRITORIAL DESIGNS

While Britain was making inroads into Tibet from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, another imperialist power, Czarist Russia, extended its aggression from the north.

Like Britain, Czarist Russia was bent on dominating the world. From the mid-18th century onwards it carved out large tracts of China's northeast, Mongolia and Xinjiang. Then it began to dream about annexing Tibet as well.

Early at the beginning of the 18th century, Czarist Russia became interested in the gold deposits in China's western areas. To obtain first-hand data on the resources, the Czar repeatedly dispatched expeditions to the Yerqiang region in Xinjiang. There they set up their headquarters with blockhouses to carry out extensive exploration of the nearby gold-rich localities. Afterwards, Russian influence gradually penetrated into the Dzungars in Xinjiang, the Buryats in the Baikal region and the Kalmuks in the lower reaches of the Volga.

These Mongol tribes followed Lamaism and had traditionally maintained religious and cultural ties with Tibet. If Russia were to succeed in putting the Lamaist Mongols under its control and severing their relations with Tibet, it had to deepen its understanding and study of the area. Therefore, beginning with 1870's, Russian scholars from the Academy of Sciences were sent to go among the





Buryats in the Selenga River basin and make extensive contacts with local Tibetan lamas. They made efforts to collect information about the politics, geography, languages and religions of Mongolia and Tibet. Later, they went among the Kalmuks in the Volga basin in search of Tibetan documents and manuscripts.

## THE ROLE OF MISSIONARIES AND SCHOLARS

In 1819 the Foreign Ministry of Czarist Russia established an Asian Department, which undertook to facilitate the country's activities of aggression and expansion in various parts of Asia. The Russian government ordered the new department to collect information about China through all possible channels. The Russian mission of the Orthodox Eastern Church in Beijing was especially active. Members of the mission made acquaintance with high officials of the Qing court and dignitaries of Tibetan and Mongolian nationalities. From each they gathered information. Outstanding among them was the so-called sinologist, Iakinph Bichurin.

Bichurin was head of the ninth mission of the Church, he stayed in China for fourteen years and gathered a great amount of information about China's nationalities, particularly the Tibetans. Some of this information he compiled into book form. With the help of a Tibetan lama, he prepared two works on Tibet: *Tibet Today* which has a map attached of the route from Chengdu to Lhasa and *The History of Tibet and Kokonor* (now Qinghai). Both were published in St. Petersburg. He also collected large quantities of books in the Han, Mongolian and Tibetan languages and cultural relics of various descriptions. By the time of his return to Russia, the amount of Chinese books and manuscripts he took back to the Asian Department of the Russian Foreign Ministry and other Russian government organizations is known to have come to several tons. This figure is believed to have

exceeded the total of what was brought back by the eight previous missions.

After Bichurin there was another so-called sinologist, V.P. Vasilev. The Russian government assigned him the task of mastering Tibetan and various Chinese dialects and studying the history, geography, religion, culture, arts and other fields of endeavour of the Hans, Mongols and Manchus. Evidently he was expected to amass information about national minority problems in border areas and supply it to the Russian government.

In the years following his arrival in Beijing, Vasilev was generally known as a writer and a translator. His works include *The History of the Buddhist Religion as Practised by the Hans, Mongols and Manchus.* He also translated the travels of a Tibetan Living Buddha who was in charge of Beijing's lamaseries. The account included a description of his journey from Tibet to the hinterland. These published works must have appealed to his home government.

## SPIES UNDER VARIED DISGUISE

After seizing control of Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan and Kashmir in the 1850's, Great Britain set her eyes on Tibet. Czarist Russia was aware of this and, although it had annexed a large expanse of land from northwest China, it continued to force its way into Tibet. To speed up this process it continuously sent spies into the area under the cloak of "exploration", "tourism", "learning Buddhist scriptures". More than once, for instance, it dispatched "exploratory missions" to Tibet and Qinghai in the name of its Royal Geographic Society and Royal Scientific Society.

An even more notable effort was made when in November 1870 an "inquiry mission" headed by N.M. Prejevalski was sent by the headquarters of the General



Staff to the Rtswa-'dam (Qaidam) Basin of Qinghai. This mission penetrated as far as to the headwaters of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River conducted a comprehensive survey of the geology, hydrography, produce and ethnical conditions on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau. At the same time it collected thousands of rare biological specimens. In 1874 Prejevalski returned to St. Petersburg when he was given significant press coverage. Czar Alexander II viewed the collection he brought back from China and promoted him to the rank of lieutenant colonel. In addition he granted him a life-long stipend while directing government departments to provide him with all the facilities that he needed in carrying out further surveys in China.

In 1879 Prejevalski embarked on his third survey of China. The stress was on Tibet. The Russian government not only provided him with sufficient manpower and financial support but also made careful arrangements for him with regard to food supplies, armed equipment, transport, clothing and all the articles needed for the trip. His mission set off in March, entered eastern Rtswa-'dam of Qinghai and crossed the Tanggula Range. They reached the Nagchu region in northern Tibet at the end of the year; however, they were halted by local people. Tibetan officials tried to persuade the intruders to go back to their own land and called in more than 300 mounted troops to guard against their further advance. Intimidations or threats the Russians made to press their demand for visiting Lhasa were resisted by the Tibetans. Finally, they retreated to Qinghai.

In 1884 Prejevalski and Roborovski led a larger "inquiry mission". This mission murdered ten or more Tibetans in the vicinity of the Gyaring Lake at the headwaters of the Huang He (Yellow River). They renamed the Gyaring Lake "Russians' Lake" and the adjacent Ngoring Lake "Inquiry Mission Lake". A few days later

300 Tibetans in the Mgo-log region counterattacked. Although they suffered more than 30 casualties, they were successful. Unable to go further, the Russians had to declare, "We have decided not to visit Lhasa!"

In the two years between 1888 and 1890, the Czarist government frequently sent spies, including a person named Kozlov who had served in Prejevalsky's mission for years, to Hotan in southern Xinjiang and to northern Tibet. They carried out survey missions without the permission of Chinese authorities. These spies prepared maps covering thousands of square miles in preparation for military invasions. In 1892 Czar Alexander III appropriated 30,000 roubles to finance the organization of two "exploratory missions". These were to operate on the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau. These spies were followed by Kozlov, who, on two occasions between 1899 and 1901, wormed his way there.

These armed "surveyors' or "inquirers" travelled over the western half of China. They collected large amounts of physiographic, geographic, political and economic information and took pictures. They also stole considerable quantities of cultural relics and biological specimens.

About the same time, in 1901, the Czarist government sent two armed parties to Lhasa. One, headed by a Russian army officer and calling itself "a scientific exploration mission", went to Lhasa by way of Urga (now Ulan Bator). It carried 200 camel loads of munition. Another was headed by a Buryat Mongol, who was a Russian Foreign Ministry official known to have been given espionage training by the headquarters of the General Staff of the Russian army. Heading for Lhasa by way of Qinghai, these "merchants" also carried considerable amounts of munitions. With the entry of these armed parties into Tibet, other Russian spies disguised as merchants or explorers also appeared in Lhasa and other parts of Tibet.



## SABOTEUR ACTIVITIES

In February 1893 a Russian diplomat called Badmaev presented to Czar Alexander III a report under the title "An Urgent Task Russia Faces in the Far East". He suggested that several thousand Russians who were of Buryat Mongol origin be recruited and sent in the disguise of merchants or pilgrims to China's border areas. There they were to buy over the degenerated elements and plot armed rebellion. If successful, the traitors would request and receive Russian nationality. Thus, the areas where they were in power would be peacefully annexed by Russia. Pleased with this idea, the Czar approved the establishment of Badmaev & Company and appropriated two million roubles for its operation. And so one group after another of Russian spies entered Tibet.

Among them was a Mongol, Dorjieff, who had been naturalized as a Russian subject. He lived in Tibet for more than two decades and learned to speak the Lhasa dialect fluently by going among the monks of the major monasteries on the excuse of studying Buddhist scriptures. He managed to acquire the high rank of a Reader to the 13th Dalai Lama. He often tried to influence the Dalai Lama by sowing discord between Tibet and the Qing central government as well as by pro-Russian remarks. He tried to convince the Dalai that Russia was the sole patron of Lamaism and that the Qing court was unreliable. Only when Tibet entered into cordial relations with Russia would Tibet be able to survive. Thus, he tried to induce the Dalai and the upper strata rulers to defect from China and enter into an alliance with Czarist Russia.

The Chinese Amban noticed Dorjieff's activities and considered putting him under arrest. Hearing this, Dorjieff hurried away to take refuge at Darjeeling.

In 1900 under secret orders from the Dalai, Dorjieff led an eight-man "Tibetan Mission" to Russia. He was re-

ceived by Nicholas II at St. Petersburg in September. The Czar told him that he granted the title of archbishop to the Dalai along with a gorgeous set of clerical vestments. In August of the next year, Dorjieff again went to Russia as "Tibet's envoy extraordinary" and was again received by the Czar. Subsequently, he had long confidential talks with the Russian Foreign Minister and Finance Minister. According to an Odessa News report, Dorjieff's visit was aimed at furthering the goodwill between Russia and Tibet and on the agenda of the talks was the question of establishing a permanent Tibetan mission in St. Petersburg.

In June 1904 when the British troops under the command of Younghusband pressed on Lhasa, the 13th Dalai Lama fled to Urga under Dorjieff's duress. At that time Dorjieff attempted to take advantage of the Dalai's predicament and coerce him into defection. Only because the Qing court became aware of the Dalai's possible move and took precautionary measures, did Dorjieff's efforts fail.

In the spring of 1905 Dorjieff was sent to Russia for the third time. He appealed to the Czar for support for the Dalai's return to Lhasa. The Czar sent a wire to the Dalai to express his sympathy and solicitude.

## ANGLO-RUSSIAN CONTENTION AND COLLUSION

Noticing Czarist Russia's stepped-up expansionist activities in Tibet, the Qing government lodged a strong protest with the Russian government. It pointed out that Tibet was Chinese territory and that the so-called mission headed by Dorjieff, which visited Russia without the official authorization of the Chinese government, was illegal. The Chinese government, the note declared, would never acknowledge any secret agreement the Russian government might sign with the Tibetans.

At the same time Britain protested Dorjieff's repeated



visits to the Russian capital. It sent a note to the Russian Foreign Ministry stating that it could not remain silent and indifferent about Russia's contacts with Tibet. Not long after, Britain carried out an armed invasion of Gampa in southern Tibet. That was dsigned as a countermove to Russian infiltration into Tibet. At the end of 1903 it sent a larger expeditionary army under Younghusband's command to attack Lhasa. Preoccupied with preparations for war with Japan, the Russians could do nothing but make verbal representations to the British about their action. The Russians' protest was ignored.

Czarist Russia, however, did not give up its ambition for Tibet. In the summer of 1905, the Russian minister to China on his way to Beijing made a special trip to Urga for a visit to the 13th Dalai Lama. Bringing the Dalai a message and lavish gifts from the Czar, he tried to induce him to defect to Russia. The attempt was frustrated as the Dalai was under the strict surveillance of the Qing officials.

In September 1905 the Qing government ordered the Dalai to return to Tibet. Prior to his departure from Urga in April of 1906, the Russian government demanded that it provide him with an armed escort made up of Buryat "Buddhists". This demand was tantamount to interference in China's internal affairs and was categorically rejected. The Russian government sent people to tail after the Dalai's party. When he stopped at Wutai Mountain in Shanxi Province in early 1908, the Czar sent a personal message and rich gifts to him as a gesture of "goodwill". In December when the Dalai arrived at the Sku-'bum Monastery in Qinghai, the Russian government instructed Kozlov to make frequent contacts with him. Finally, the Dalai was induced to agree that Tibet would have friendlier relations with Russia.

Britain became increasingly concerned over Russia's ambitions in Tibet. Britain repeatedly protested Russian's suggestions of providing escort to the Dalai on

his return journey to Tibet and pressured the Qing government to order the Dalai to remain in Qinghai. Meanwhile, taking advantage of the Dalai's absence from Tibet, it moved to install the 9th Panchen Lama as its figurehead there.

The emergence of Germany in 1906 brought a change in British and Russian relations. Their mutual interests dictated the formation of an alliance against Germany. In June 1906 representatives of the two powers began negotiations aimed at carving "spheres of influence" in Asia. In August of 1907 agreements relating to Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet were signed.

The Convention between Great Britain and Russia was an outcome of the two imperialist powers making mutual concessions and an acknowlegment of each other's vested interests in Tibet. Both indicated their desire of maintaining the status quo in Tibet and both pledged to "recognizing the suzerainty of China over Tibet" in a vain attempt to write off China's sovereign rights in the region. They also agreed "not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese Government". At the same time, another clause provided that "Buddhists, subjects of Great Britain or of Russia, may enter into direct relations on strictly religious matters with the Dalai Lama and the other representatives of Buddhism in Tibet". This in effect meant that "Buddhists" such as Dorjieff could enjoy the right to operate in the region. Moreover, the agreement approved Britain's appointment of trade agents in Tibet and its demand for payment of a war indemnity as specified in the 1904 Convention between Great Britain and Tibet.

This agreement did not slow Russia's encroachment on Tibet. In 1909 it supplied the Dalai with arms and military instructors in an attempt to reinforce its position in the region. In 1911 when the 13th Dalai Lama under Britain's inspiration defected to India, Czar Nicholas II wrote to him stating that "my government is closely



following the development of the Tibet issue". He also suggested a joint Russo-British programme for Tibet.

With the British sponsored Simla Conference of 1913-14 (see Chapter XVIII — *Ed.*), Czarist Russia was fearful that Britain would dominate Tibet exclusively. To counter this move, it worked through Rje-btsun dam-pa's "autonomous government" of Outer Mongolia, which was under its control. It also instructed Dorjieff, who was in the Dalai's circle, to step up the collection of information. In 1913 Dorjieff went as the Dalai's plenipotentiary to Urga for negotiations. After secret talks the Mongol-Tibetan Treaty was signed. It acknowledged Mongolia as an independent state with Rje-btsun dam-pa as its sovereign and Tibet as an independent state with the Dalai Lama as its sovereign. This agreement revealed Russia's policy of infiltration into Tibet through its puppet regime in Outer Mongolia. Ultimately, the British pressured the Dalai to refrain from publicly sanctioning the treaty.

Thus, on the eve of or during World War I, in which it fought shoulder to shoulder with Britain against Germany, Russia continued its competition with Britain for supremacy over Tibet.

*Chapter XVII*

# NEW QING POLICIES

## BACKGROUND

The British imperialists' invasion of Lhasa in 1904 brought calamities to the Tibetan people. The Sino-British Convention signed in Beijing in 1906 meant new shackles on them.

The Chinese nation condemned the British for their crimes of pillage and murder in Tibet. Some newspapers demanded to know why the Qing government, its resident officials and garrison troops in Tibet did not resist the Britsh invaders.

The Qing saw that its credibility was not high with the Tibetan people, who were dissatisfied with the Amban's capitulationist policy. At the same time foreign imperialists were stepping up their activities in Tibet. The Qing government realized that unless it took immediate measures to improve Tibet's administration, not only this region but the adjacent provinces of Sichuan and Qinghai would be lost to the foreigners within several years. Therefore, it sent a Han official, Zhang Yintang, to Tibet in 1906. He was to be deputy Amban and to investigate conditions and put the house in order.

## ZHANG YINTANG: A CHIEF EXECUTOR OF NEW POLICY

Prior to his mission to Tibet, Zhang Yintang was known as an honest and principled official. He had gone





to India at the end of 1904 to assist Tang Shaoyi, deputy head of the Qing Foreign Affairs Board, in negotiations with Britain. He adhered to his firm stand concerning China's sovereignty over Tibet. Thus, the talks became deadlocked. One of first things he did in Tibet was to impeach the Amban You Tai and approximately a dozen officials on charges of corruption and a non-resistance attitude with regard to the British invasion.

You Tai was a glaring example of incompetence and corruption among the Qing-appointed officials. When the British occupied Rgyal-rtse, he refused to go to the front to hold talks with them, still less mobilize the people to put up effective resistance. However tense was the fighting, he remained deeply involved in wine and women. During the British occupation of Lhasa he fawned on the enemy commander Younghusband and ordered to have meat and fuel supplies brought to the British camps every day. Such practices incurred great popular indignation. When the Qing government's decree dismissing You Tai and a dozen of other corrupt mandarins from office and be prosecuted was made public in November 1906, the Tibetan people's morale was heightened tremendously. They praised the new commissioner's firm hand in dealing with corrupt officials.

On his way from India to Tibet to assume office, Zhang Yintang had witnessed the British aggressors' seizure of Tibetan land and infringements of Chinese jurisdiction as well as the people's sufferings at their hands. He keenly felt that if Tibet was to be safe from foreign aggression and become strong and prosperous, its political and economic institutions should be reformed and its backwardness done away with. Accordingly, he drafted in early 1907 a 24-point programme for the improvement of Tibet's administration. The Qing court endorsed it. To implement this programme he ordered the Tibet local

government to establish nine bureaus to be in charge of foreign affairs, police, military training, tea industry and salt tax collection, finance, trade and handicrafts, mining and road construction, education, and agriculture. These were to be permanent and were to implement the new policies. Meanwhile, he published two pamphlets as a guide to the transformation of Tibetan customs.

Zhang's policy sought to safeguard the Qing central government's sovereignty over Tibet and to strengthen defence against foreign encroachments. Thus, the Tibetans to a certain extent supported it, and Zhang, who was influenced by the bourgeois industrial revolution of the west, has been revered as a patriot. Nevertheless, the policy he worked out was not free from elements of oppression and discrimination against minority nationalities. Most of the measures disregarded the prevailing historical conditions and were thus unrealistic. In particular, the two pamphlets mentioned above, which were written from the standpoint of Han chauvinism, dismissed Tibet's language, customs and time-honoured moral standards while imposing those that prevailed in the Han areas. These measures were against the wishes of the Tibetans.

The new policy contained various positive aspects, which, however, ran counter to the interests of the serf-owning class, and the Tibetan local government made no real effort to implement them. Except for the establishment of the nine bureaus, most of the new policy was not implemented. Finally, Zhang Yintang's administration of Tibet aroused the suspicion and jealousy of the newly-appointed Amban Lian Yu. At the same time the Qing court thought his words and behaviour were too radical and incompatible with the times. Consequently, Zhang Yintang was transferred in May 1907 to Simla in India to hold talks with the British on the opening of Rgyal-rtse as a trade mart. That was the end of his new administration in Tibet.



## REFORM OF THE *TUSI* SYSTEM

While Zhang Yintang worked hard to implement his new policy in administering Tibet, Zhao Erfeng, an official in Sichuan's Khams, followed the Qing court's orders to transform the *Tusi* (local headman) system in Khams area. He made the position of the *Tusi* an appointed one; in the past it had been hereditary.

In the summer of 1905 Zhao Erfeng led an expedition against popular uprisings at 'Ba-tang and Li-tang in Sichuan. In recognition of his meritorious service, he was promoted to the post of commissioner of Sichuan and Yunnan borderland affairs. He was given a free hand to reform the *Tusi* system and introduce related measures. From 1905 to the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911 he used both military means and political measures to depose the large and small *Tusis* and other undesirable local leaders in Dar-rtse-mdo (Kangding), Batang, Li-tang, Chab-mdo, Gsang-sngags-chos and other important districts. These *Tusis* were replaced with Qing-appointed functionaries. He ordered that all the people in these districts, lay or clerical, should accept the rule of Qing-appointed officials rather than that of the local *Tusis* or lamas of the upper strata.

In an attempt to abolish the lama system, Zhao Erfeng arbitrarily restricted the number of lamas in each monastery and imposed taxation on monastery land as on other landed estates. At the same time he annulled the monastery's powers to impose economic burdens on the commoners and intervene in local administration.

The policy Zhao Erfeng carried out in Sichuan's Khams area, generally speaking, weakened both serfdom and the ruling power of the serf-owners, lay and clerical. This could have helped to spur local production.

But the reform failed to get at the root of the feudal land ownership system. Hence, it was not of much benefit to the people. The measures he made public for

the abolition of unpaid labour, census taking, the inventorying of landed property, grain requisitioning and taxation were not carried out due to the opposition of the local forces. His other measures aimed at assimilation on the basis of Han chauvinism . . . enforced enrollment of young Tibetan children in newly established schools, enforced use of the Han language, and changing Tibetan customs in wedding, funerals and dress . . . were also failures.

Implementing the Qing policy of oppression and discrimination against minority people Zhao replaced all the Tibetan *Tusis* with Qing-appointed officials of Manchu and Han nationalities. This aggravated the misunderstandings and contradictions between nationalities.

This policy won little support from the Tibetans. It was unsuccessful.

## BRITISH AGGRESSIVE ACTIVITIES SYNCHRONIZING WITH QING'S NEW ADMINISTRATION

While Qing officials attempted to implement their new administration in Tibet, the British pursued their own goals. Exploiting the Treaty of Lhasa, they seized the Chu'bi Valley in southern Tibet, and set up trade markets. They expropriated civilian housing, imposed fines and committed murders. Furthermore, they marked out a huge tract of Tibet's land stretching for more than 30 miles along its frontier and called it part of the Chu'bi Valley. Evidently, this was for the purpose of facilitating future invasions.

The British colonialists used the threat of force and the promise of material gains to foster pro-British elements within the serf-owner class. They made them ferment differences between Tibetan and other nationalities and estrange the region from the rest of the



motherland with a view to plunging it into a semi-independent status.

In 1905 the British induced the 9th Panchen Lama to India, promising that they would provide him with an opportunity to interview the visiting British prince. They used every means to gain the Panchen's allegiance so as to supersede the Dalai. By so doing they hoped to split Tibet, particularly Inner Tibet under the Panchen's spiritual rule, from the motherland. However, the Panchen managed to report his activities to the Amban in Tibet after his arrival in India. This thwarted the British plot.

## THE DALAI'S CHANGED STAND

The British changed their plan and turned their attention to the Dalai hierarchy in Lhasa. The Dalai was absent from the Tibetan capital, and the British gave bribes through their trade agencies at Rgyal-rtse and Yadong to high-ranking aristocrats and officials and their families. In this way they sought to effect rapprochement with them. They also offered conveniences and higher profits to the serf-owners that monopolized Tibetan trade. In this way they sought to change the latter's political stand from anti-British to pro-British. Finally, they built up a pro-British clique, whose political stand could not but affect that of the Dalai who had long lingered in the interior. The Dalai's changed stand in favour of the British worsened the relations between Tibet and its motherland.

During the years he took refuge in interior China following his flight from Lhasa in 1904, the 13th Dalai Lama at first counted on Czarist Russia to help him return to power. However, as a result of its defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and the onslaught of the 1905 Revolution, Russia was declining steadily in strength. After the signing of the Convention between Great Britain and

Russia in 1907, the two powers pledged that neither side should take any action to meddle in matters concerning the Dalai's return to Tibet. The issue should be left to China to settle. That shattered the Dalai's strategy of using Russia against Britain, and he had to consider other options.

At this time Britain continued its efforts to cultivate the Dalai and strove to foster pro-British elements in Tibet. In 1908 when the Dalai was in Beijing paying obeisance to Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi, the British arranged to have a prince sent from Sikkim, which was under their control, to the Chinese capital especially for the purpose of drawing the Grand Lama to its side.

At the same time the British minister John Jordan came to the Yong He Palace to see the Dalai, and to bring him lavish gifts. The Dalai began to change his attitude. He said to the British envoy: "The unfortunate happenings in the past were not what I wanted. It's my cherished desire that Tibet and India will always get along with each other in a spirit of peace and friendship." The British minister stated that he was not opposed to the Dalai taking charge of Tibet's administration and religious affairs. He intimated that Britain would support the Dalai in his effort to return to Tibet as soon as possible if he no longer maintained his anti-British stance.

Consequently, after returning to Tibet in 1909, the 13th Dalai Lama took a position friendly to the British and thereby estranged the Chinese central government.

## QING'S MILITARY MOVE IN TIBET

That was on the eve of the 1911 Revolution, which brought about the collapse of the Qing Dynasty. Tibet was in a restless situation. The Amban Lian Yu followed the policy of Zhang Yintang by pushing political reform throughout the region. His efforts were increasingly in contradiction with the interests of the pro-British elements among the nobility. To consolidate his rule over Tibet, he repeatedly appealed to the Qing court for financial support to train more troops. He also requested the dispatch of troops from Sichuan to Tibet to maintain order, thus restoring the Qing court's old practice of stationing troops in the region.



In June 1909 the Qing sent 2,000 troops from Sichuan to Tibet under the command of a prefect. It also instructed Zhao Erfeng to lead a detachment into Chab-mdo to support the Sichuan troops. This military move alarmed the Tibetan ruling class. Seizing this opportunity, the British imperialists ordered the pro-British elements to speak ill of the Qing government in front of the Dalai. Infuriated the Dalai stopped shipments of fuel and grain supplies and of services to the headquarters of the Amban. Immediately after, the Tibetan local government called militia units from various parts to intercept the approaching Sichuan troops.

The last round of resistance was at Kong-po Rgya-mda' a town 140 miles east of Lhasa. The Sichuan troops had reached there in February 1910. After routing the Tibetan troops, the victors pressed ahead to Lhasa. At this critical juncture the Dalai was obliged to make peace with the Amban. The deputy Amban Wen Zongyao assured the Dalai that the Sichuan troops would maintain strict discipline and keep peace and order when in the Tibetan capital. But in fact the Sichuan troops were badly disciplined. After entering Lhasa they looted and threw the whole city into chaos. Consequently the 13th Dalai, at the instigation of his pro-British retainers fled to British India.

That was what the British had long sought. On the one hand they were then in a position to engineer new schemes under the pretext of protecting the Dalai and employ diplomatic means to wrest greater concessions

from the Qing court. On the other hand they could make use of the Dalai, the supreme religious and temporal head in Tibet, to serve their plot of tearing the region apart from China.

*Chapter XVIII*

# INTENSIFIED BRITISH AGGRESSION AND THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

In 1911 a revolution broke out in China. It overthrew the Qing Dynasty, thus putting an end to the millennia-old rule by feudal monarchy. This revolution, which was to exercise great impact on the future of all nationalities of China, brought tremendous repercussions among the Tibetans as well.

When news of the uprising at Wuchang, which sparked the 1911 Revolution reached Tibet, splits took place within the ranks of the Qing officials and troops stationed there. The royalists resorted to assassinations of the progressives and in collusion with the big serf-owners organized a royalist army with the Amban Lian Yu as the commander. At the same time the Qing garrisons at Yadong and other places mutinied.

## BRITISH IMPERIALISM PLOTS TIBET'S "INDEPENDENCE"

The British took this opportunity to sever Tibet from China. It urged the pro-British elements among the big serf-owners to contact the 13th Dalai who had defected to India and together patched up a "civil army" to oppose the newly established central government. And it deployed troops along the Indian frontier in coordination with the Tibetan army. Britain waited for an opportune moment to carry out armed intervention.

In June 1912 the 13th Dalai returned to Tibet under

British protection. He became ever more active in asserting Tibet's "independence" from the motherland. At the same time the small circle of pro-British elements had seized control of the region's administration and called for the removal of all Hans from Tibet. Against patriotic Tibetans, lay and clerical, they resorted to brutal repression and murder.

The pro-British faction's policy of disrupting the country's unification and national unity instantly met with vehement repudiation from the entire Chinese people, the Tibetans in particular. Articles denouncing their splitting activities appeared in the press in various parts of the country. The masses of serfs, joined by tens of thousands of monks and some patriotic dignitaries, took up arms against the pro-British faction.

## BRITISH BLATANT INTERVENTION

Faced with the wave of popular indignation throughout the country over British aggression against Tibet, the Beijing government headed by Yuan Shikai issued a statement to the effect that Tibet was a territory of the Chinese Republic and that the Tibetans were Chinese citizens who refused to recognize the British-engineered "Tibetan independence". In June 1912 it instructed the military governor of Sichuan to lead an army westward to punish the Tibetan insurgent troops. It subsequently sent the Yunnan troops under Cai E as reinforcements. Seeing the victorious advance of these two armies as a threat to its plot in Tibet, the British had to conduct open intervention.

In August the British government sent a note to the Beijing government. They demanded that the Chinese government not interfere in Tibet's administration, not station troops in various parts of the region and not exercise the same administrative powers in Tibet as in the interior provinces. Should the Chinese government



reject those demands, Britain threatened to withhold recognition of the government of the Chinese Republic and militarily assist Tibetans to win their independence. Yuan Shikai submitted. The Beijing government, while rejecting the British note, eventually ordered the Sichuan and Yunnan armies to halt their advance.

Yuan Shikai failed to win any concession from the British. In 1913 the British blocked the communications between India and Tibet. The new commissioner to Tibet who had been appointed by the Beijing government was in India and could not reach Tibet. Furthermore, the British government demanded that a tripartite conference attended by China, Britain and Tibet be held to solve all outstanding issues concerning Tibet. It warned that if the Chinese government were not to attend the conference, it would conclude a direct agreement with the Tibetans. Thus, the Chinese government would be barred from the enjoyment of privileges accruing from the agreement. Anxious to acquire Britain's diplomatic recognition and the support of its financial group in fighting a civil war, the Yuan Shikai government was ready to relinquish China's sovereign rights over Tibet. It agreed to attend the British proposed tripartite conference to be held at Simla in the north of India. The British government announced its recognition of the Chinese Republic on October 6, 1913.

## THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

The Simla Conference was designed by the British in collusion with Tibetan pro-British elements. Both sought to separate Tibet from Chinese territory. At the instigation of the British representative, Sir Henry McMahon, the Tibetan representative, Bshad-sgra Dpal-'byor rdo-rje, in the first session proposed six terms which stressed the demand for Tibetan "independence". This assertion of "independence" was rejected by the rep-

resentative of the Chinese government, Evan Chen. Subsequently, McMahon assumed the posture of a mediator, and put forward a six-point proposal which included the following:

China should recognize the independence of Tibet;

Tibet's boundary was to start at Andingta in the Kunlun Mountains in southern Xinjiang, extend into Xinjiang and encompass the whole of Qinghai, the western section of Gansu, Sichuan's Kangding and the region west of Adunzi in Yunnan;

Chinese troops should not be stationed in Tibet.

When this proposal was rejected by the Chinese representative, McMahon proposed a "compromise" programme under which Tibet and the other Tibetan areas in Qinghai, Xikang, Gansu, Sichuan and Yunnan were to be called "Tibet". The Tibetan areas west of the Jinsha River were termed "Outer Tibet"; those east of the river, "Inner Tibet". "Outer Tibet" was to be detached from China and become independent while "Inner Tibet" was to be placed under a Chinese and Tibetan government. The purpose of the programme was in essense to detach Tibet from the motherland.

On April 27, 1914, Britain presented a draft treaty based on this "compromise" programme and tried to get the Chinese representative to sign it. This draft treaty specified the following: recognize the autonomy of "Outer Tibet" with its internal affairs to be put temporarily under the supervision of the Indian government; the "Tibetan central government" retain its existing powers over "Inner Tibet"; China should not station troops in Tibet; in case a dispute arises between the Chinese government and Tibet, it should be arbitrated by the Indian government. Obviously Britain intended to sever Tibet from China and leave the region to the rule of its colonial government in India while legalizing this by virtue of a treaty. Its scheme was opposed by the people from all over the country.



The British and Tibetan representatives signed the illegal Simla Convention on July 3, 1914. Refusing to sign the treaty on instructions from the Chinese government, the Chinese representative declared to the conference on the same day that the Chinese government would not recognize any treaty of similar document concluded between Britain and Tibet. On the same day and a few days after, the Chinese minister to Britain, on orders from the Chinese government, twice delivered a note to the British government making a similar statement. From then on the Chinese government, whoever was in power, maintained the same stand. Consequently, the Simla Convention, unsigned by the Chinese government, became null and void and the Simla Conference has gone down in the annals as an ignominious deed by British imperialism.

## "MCMAHON LINE"

During the Simla Conference Britain, using the supply of some 5,000 rifles plus half a million cartridges as bait, induced the Tibetan representative to make a secret deal at Delhi. In the notes they exchanged, a "McMahon Line" was created. It demarcated the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary. This line was supposed to start from Bhutan's frontier in the west and extend eastward to Rdza-yul so that 90,000 square kilometres (34,740 square miles) of Chinese territory would be ceded to British India. With such a demarcation the eastern section of the Indian boundary would automatically be pushed from the edge of the Assam Valley to the ridge of the Himalayas.

It should be noted that the Simla Conference neither discussed the question of the Sino-Indian boundary nor had the "McMahon Line" on the agenda. Therefore, the line was an illegal boundary line imposed on the Chinese

people. It is even more infamous than the Simla Convention.

Over the decades the Chinese government has never recognized the "McMahon Line". The British shrank from openly inscribing the illegal line on the map until 1936 when it first appeared on an official map published in British India. Nevertheless, the line was marked "undemarcated line" until 1954.

The "McMahon Line" has cast a shadow on the development of the friendly relations between China and India ever since the latter gained its independence. The Chinese government has borne in mind the experience shared by the two countries of being subjected to imperialist oppression and aggression as well as their time-honoured friendship and has repeatedly expressed confidence that the Sino-Indian boundary question and some other outstanding issues could be settled satisfactorily through peaceful negotiation and consultatoin.

*Chapter XIX*

# NEW UPSURGE OF PATRIOTIC STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND IMPROVED RELATIONS BETWEEN TIBET AND THE MOTHERLAND

## BRITISH POLICY AFTER SIMLA CONFERENCE

The failure of the Simla Conference in no way discouraged the British from their aggressive designs on Tibet. They applied diplomatic pressure in an attempt to make the Chinese government recognize the provisions in the "Simla Convention". However the Beijing government, supported by the whole Chinese people, followed the policy of continuing negotiations without impairing China's sovereignty. It put forward various counter-proposals.

During all this time the British imperialists worked hard to support the Tibetan ruling class headed by the 13th Dalai Lama. They supplied the Tibetans with large quantities of arms, expanded the Tibetan army from 3,000 men to more than 10,000, set up a military academy at Rgyal-rtse and sent young Tibetan aristocrats to Britain and India for training. In addition they built a machinery plant and a power works at Lhasa, installed a telephone line between the city and Rgyal-rtse, and planned to set up a telegraph office in Lhasa.

To stir up a sanguinary conflict between Hans and Tibetans so as to find a pretext for pursuing their ambition at the Simla Conference, the British induced the

Dalai to use the expanded Tibetan army to attack the border of the Sichuan-Xikang area. Taking advantage of the rifts prevailing among the local forces in the western part of China, the Dalai's army conquered Chub-mdo, Brag-gyab, Bde-dge and a number of other counties in addition to a large area west of the Jinsha River. At this point the garrison commander of the Sichuan border region, Chen Xialing, appealed to the Dalai for a truce pending the central government's settling the issue. At the same time he requested Eric Teichman, British deputy consul in the locality, to act as mediator. A truce agreement was signed between the Sichuan and Tibetan armies. Exploiting the provisions in the agreement, the British tried to coerce the Beijing government into conceding the large expanse of area in the Xikang region to Tibet. This was the proposal concerning Inner and Outer Tibet they had made at the Simla Conference. Teichman was sent to Beijing to join with the British minister J. Jordan on a negotiation with the Beijing government. The British representatives suggested that a tripartite conference attended by China's central government, Britain and Tibet be reconvened to settle the Tibetan boundary issue. According to Jordan's proposal, the name of Inner and Outer Tibet would no longer be used. The area of Inner Tibet as specified in the draft convention of Simla was to be divided into two sections. One included Batang, Litang, Dar-rtse-mdo (Kangding) and other places. The other consisted of the area west of Bde-dge. Jordan also claimed that the lands south of the Kunlun Mountains and north of the Tanggula Range were "wastes" and that the stationing of troops there by the Beijing government would possibly lead to conflict. It would be advisable, he asserted, if those lands were to come under the jurisdiction of Tibet. Such suggestions were essentially what Britain had proposed at the Simla Conference. They were unacceptable to the Chinese government and people.



## POPULAR CONDEMNATION OF BRITISH INTERVENTION

In August 1919 the Beijing government decided to suspend the talks on the Tibet question and notified the British minister of this. It then published a statement on what had happened with the negotiations. Learning of this, the Chinese people and Chinese nationals abroad held meetings to denounce British aggressive designs. People's organizations of the four provinces of Sichuan, Yunnan, Guizhou and Shaanxi sent a joint message to the whole nation voicing their condemnation of British imperialism for its interference with China's internal affairs and its scheme to sever Tibet. The message also called on the public to strive for the safeguarding of the motherland's sovereign rights.

## CENTRAL GOVERNMENT'S ENVOY TO TIBET

Since the suspension of the talks on the Tibetan issue, the Chinese people in all walks of life repeatedly urged the central government to negotiate with the Tibetan local government so as to keep imperialism's hands off Tibet. In October 1919 the Beijing government wired the governor of Gansu Province, Zhang Guangjian, to send a mission to Tibet to make direct contact with the Dalai. This mission, headed by Zhu Xiu, was the first mission that had been sent to Tibet in almost a decade since the Revolution of 1911.

The central government mission was well received by the Tibetan authorities and the Tibetan people. The local government held a grand ceremony in welcome. The mission had a series of talks with the Dalai, the Panchen and the representatives of the three major monasteries. It conveyed to them the solicitude and expectations of the whole people and admonishing them to cherish the interests of the Chinese nation, uphold the motherland's unification and national unity and guard against foreign-

ers' activities of inciting Tibetan separatism and sowing dissension between the Tibetans and the Hans. The mission's visit improved to a certain extent the relations between Tibet and the motherland and inspired the Tibetan people with confidence in their patriotic struggle against imperialism. As the mission left Lhasa, the Dalai assured Zhu Xiu that he was inclined towards the motherland and would work for the happiness of all nationalities in the country. He expressed his desire that the Beijing government promptly send a plenipotentiary to settle outstanding issues concerning Tibet. In a letter to Zhang Guangjian, he emphasized his hope for the Gansu governor's continued attention to Tibetan affairs. Furthermore, he appointed an official to be in charge of Tibet's contact with the central government. During this time the Panchen Lama, who was at the Bkra-shis-lhunpo Monastery in Gzhis-kha-rtse, also paid respects to the mission by sending a gift with a message pledging allegiance to the central government.

## BRITISH AGENT'S ACTIVITIES THWARTED

Now the patriotic behaviour of the Grand Lamas upset the British imperialists. Some said that the Chinese envoy to Tibet meant to set the Tibetan government and people against Britain. To counter the effects of the Chinese central government mission, the British government sent Charles Bell, former political officer in charge of Sikkim, as its envoy to Tibet. Once in Lhasa Bell, making use of the pro-British elements among the nobility, spread the fallacy that "China was weak and unreliable". He sowed discord in the Tibetan-Han relationship and incited the Dalai to continue attacking the interior. He advised the Tibetan authorities to increase Tibet's "self-defence" capabilities by requisitioning monastery property, raising the rates of taxes on the nobility and monasteries and drafting monks into military service. He also



recommended expansion of the region's armed forces and proposed engaging British officers to help with military training. Other suggestions of his included the setting up of police bodies at Lhasa and other places. That was designed to prevent or suppress popular unrest.

Bell's activities caused deep resentment among all sections of people in Tibet. The Dalai's enforcement of the measures relating to the monasteries, in particular, met with stubborn resistance by the monastic circles headed by the three major monasteries. In 1921 during the Spring Festival, more than 20,000 lamas in Lhasa held a prayer service at which demands to root out British agents and expel foreigners were made. This led to a serious conflict between the Tibetan troops and the lamas who had the support of lay people. Afraid that the situation would go out of control, the Dalai ordered the troops out of the city and removed several officials and military officers from office.

The British government learned of the tense situation in Lhasa and instructed Bell to return to India. But he was slow in leaving and counted on support of the pro-British elements. It was only after a serious warning from the city people and due to the personal admonition of the Dalai that he eventually left.

## BRITISH-ENGINEERED COUP ABORTS

The British would not forfeit their colonial interests in Tibet and were keen on cutting the region's political ties with the Chinese central government. They launched a press campaign for the protection of Tibet from the "menace of Bolshevism" to cover up their conspiracy to separate Tibet from China. They also cultivated a clique of pro-British military officers headed by Tsha-rong, commander of the Tibetan army. They planned to use these troops to stage a coup to overthrow the Tibetan local government and replace it with a regime responsive

to British policy. When the conspiratorial group was ready to strike in October 1924, the scheme leaked out. The Dalai took prompt measures: Tsha-rong and other group members were removed from office or otherwise punished.

## TRADITIONAL INTERCOURSE RESTORED

To safeguard his rule and the interests of the big serf-owner class, the Dalai changed his strategy of seeking Britain's patronage. He decided to rely on the patriotic forces in Tibet and try to restore a traditional relationship with interior China. In 1925 he cancelled British control of the Lhasa police. The next year he closed down the military academy that the British had set up at Rgyal-rtse and rejected the British demand for sending a representative to Tibet.

In the winter of 1928, the Dalai, taken in by Chiang Kai-shek's assertion of "equality to all nationalities of the country", sent Blo-bzang pa-sangs, his resident representative at the Wutai Mountain in Shanxi Province, to Nanjing to interview Chiang Kai-shek. Blo-bzang pa-sangs expressed his feelings for the motherland and his desire for the establishment of contact with the Kuomintang government. The next year when a Kuomintang government representative came to Tibet, the Dalai voiced his allegiance and asked for permission to set up a Tibetan affairs office in Nanjing. In March the Kuomintang government set up, under its Executive Yuan, the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. In 1930 the Tibetan local government was represented at the conference on Mongolian and Tibetan affairs and established a Tibetan affairs office in Nanjing. That marked the end of the abnormal relationship between Tibet and the motherland that had persisted for almost two decades.



## RELATIONS BETWEEN THE 9TH PANCHEN LAMA AND INTERIOR CHINA

After he fled to interior China in 1923 as a result of the persecution carried out by the Dalai at British instigation, the Panchen Lama was received by the Beijing government. At the same time he had the support of the people in interior China for his patriotic stand against Tibet's separation from the motherland. In 1929 when the Dalai established official relations with the Kuomintang government, the Panchen did the same by setting up an office in Nanjing. Several times he failed to carry out his plan of returning to Tibet due to opposition from the Dalai. Following the September 18 Incident of 1931, which led to Japanese imperialism's occupation of northeast China, both the Panchen and the Dalai issued a statement advocating resistance against the Japanese aggressors. This common stand was a sign of strengthened unity within Tibet. In 1932 the Dalai's office in Nanjing informed the Kuomintang government of his intention to welcome the Panchen back to Tibet. That August the Kuomintang government appointed the Panchen "Western Borderland's Publicity Commissioner" and invited him to come to Nanjing to discuss arrangements for his return to Tibet. Receiving the Panchen's emissary to Tibet, the Dalai expressed his desire for the Panchen's early return and promised to restore the Bkra-shis-lhunpo Monastery and the four-county domain to him. However, the Dalai died in Lhasa in December 1933; and, ultimately, the Panchen failed to return owing to obstructions by the pro-British forces in Tibet. He died in Qinghai in 1937.

*Chapter XX*

# GROWTH OF THE TIBETANS' PATRIOTIC FORCES DURING THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR

The Tibetan local government reported the death of the 13th Dalai Lama to the Chinese central government according to convention. On receiving the report, the Kuomintang government posthumously granted the title "Great Master of Patriotism, Magnanimity, Benevolence and Sagacity" to the late Dalai and sent an emissary to Tibet to perform the title-granting ceremony and pay homage to his memory. Meanwhile, it approved the joint appointment of the Living Buddha, Rva-sgreng, by the Tibetan local government and the National Assembly to take charge of the temporal and religious administration of the region until the reincarnation of the Dalai was discovered and came of age to assume power.

## A PATRIOTIC PRELATE IN POWER

Since coming to power Rva-sgreng, a high lama with patriotic and anti-imperialist ideas, worked hard to improve Tibet's relations with the motherland. In accordance with the conventional practice of the Qing Dynasty, he reported to the Kuomintang government the death of the Dalai and his work as regent. He expressed his support for the return of the 9th Panchen to Tibet. In particular, he took steps to restrict the activities of the pro-British officials. All this inevitably incurred the resentment of the pro-British elements, who opposed the regent and the patriotic forces he represented. Therefore, the pro-British clique headed by the Bka'-blon, Tsha-rong, and the commander of the Tibetan army, Lung-shar, schemed to assassinate the regent and get rid of the patriotic officials before the arrival of the central government emissary. They then, as the British desired, planned to establish a parliament as well as a regime modelled after British India and under British protection.





## PATRIOTIC FORCES FRUSTRATE PLOTTED COUP

Most of the Tibetan officials were against the intrigue when it leaked out. Representatives of the three major monasteries participated in a meeting of the Tibetan local government and resolved to remove from office or jail the chief conspirators. The ringleader, Lung-shar, was arrested and punished by having his property confiscated and his eyes gouged out. Many conspirators fled or were sent into exile. After this struggle, the pro-British forces were weakened while the patriotic forces with the monks of the three major monasteries as the mainstay became markedly stronger. Accordingly, the patriotic dignitaries urged the Kuomintang government to send a mission to Tibet for early talks on the restoration of political relations with the central government.

## ENVOYS IN TIBET

In April 1934 the Kuomintang government sent a mission headed by Huang Musong to Tibet to sponsor the title-granting ceremony and pay homage to the Dalai's memory. Arriving in Lhasa in August, the Huang mission was accorded a warm welcome. In accordance with the traditional practice of the Amban in the Qing Dynasty, Huang Musong first offered worship at the Jokhang and Ramoche temples and then distributed alms to the

lamas of the three major monasteries. Subsequently he inaugurated a grand ceremony held to grant the posthumous title to the Dalai. On this occasion Tibetan patriotic dignitaries expressed hope that the Chinese nation would achieve unity in the true sense of the word.

Talks between the central government emissary and the Tibetan representative resulted in the decision to establish a Lhasa office under the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. As a sign of goodwill, the mission supplied the Lhasa office with a transceiver and help set up a primary school, a clinic and a weather station.

In the winter of 1939 the Tibetan local government was said to have discovered the reincarnation of the 13th Dalai in a "soul boy". It reported this to the central government and expressed hope that the latter would by tradition send an official to Tibet to sponsor the performance of formalities for the confirmation of the 14th Dalai. In December the Kuomintang government dispatched a delegation headed by Wu Zhongxin, Minister of the Commission for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs.

This mission was accorded the warmest welcome that any emissary from the government had received in Tibet in nearly three decades since the end of the Qing Dynasty. The delegation leader distributed alms to the Lhasa monasteries and made wide contact with persons in all sections of society. Finally, he made a decision jointly with the regent and other high-ranking Tibetan officials to confirm, without performing the conventional formalities in which a golden urn was used, the "soul boy", who had been born in Qinghai and renamed Bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho after his arrival in Tibet. Wu presided over the ceremony of the installation of the Dalai.

## BRITISH DISRUPTIVE AND AGGRESSIVE ACTIVITIES

The restoration of relations between Tibet and the central government, particularly the ceremony of the 14th Dalai's enthronement by the leader of a central government delegation, upset the British. They feared that improved relations between Tibet and the Chinese central government would eventually lead to a complete loss of their colonial interests in Tibet.



Shortly after Wu Zhongxin's arrival in Lhasa, the British sent Basil Gould, political officer in Sikkim, to Tibet with an entourage. His party attended the ceremony and closely watched the Chinese delegation. They sought a way to torpedo the political talks between Tibet and the central government. Gould incited members of the Tibetan upper class to create trouble with the seating order during the ceremony. That was an attempt to negate the central government representative's rights and status. Seeing the intrigue, Wu Zhongxin talked and won over the Tibetan personages involved so that the ceremony was held on schedule in accordance with the conventional practice.

Not long after, however, an incident of great significance took place. The pro-British elements in Lhasa spread a flood of vile slanders against the regent Rva-sgreng in an effort to force him to resign. The attack was so vehement that the regent finally gave up. He asked the Tibetan local government to grant him a three-year leave and to turn his duties over to the Living Buddha, Stag-brag. Tibet's power then fell into the hands of the pro-British elements and its relations with the motherland worsened rapidly.

In the summer of 1942 the Tibetan authorities at British instigation announced the establishment of a "Foreign Affairs Bureau" and notified the Kuomintang government's Tibet office that from then on they had to deal with this Bureau rather than the local government. That implied that Tibet had become an independent country. The Kuomintang government representative protested and the Tibetan authorities rounded up many Hans in Lhasa and tortured them in an attempt to compel them to establish contact with the Bureau as their counterparts

from Britain, the United States and other countries were doing. They threatened to cut all supplies to the Kuomintang office if they failed to comply. With the whole Chinese people squarely behind them, the Kuomintang personnel stood their ground and refused to have anything to do with the "Foreign Affairs Bureau". At the same time the Koumintang government instructed the Tibetan authorities to maintain the usual procedures in all their dealings with the central authorities. It warned the Tibetan authorities that if they refused to comply, it would send troops to the region and that they would be held responsible for the consequences. Faced with this hard-line position, the Tibetan authorities railroaded a resolution through the "National Assembly" — provided that the central authorities stood their ground, a compromise might be made by setting up another body to carry on dealings with them. However, the "Foreign Affairs Bureau" was kept going.

The British renewed its encroachment of Tibet's border. In 1944 Basil Gould, political officer in Sikkim, came to Lhasa again. He tried to intimidate the Tibetan authorities into ceding the area south of Padma-sgang and Mon-rta-dbang to British India. About the same time an armed British party intruded into Rdza-yul in southern Tibet and occupied Rdi-rang-rdzong south of Mon-rta-dbang. Some time later Britain began to carry out what is known as the Balipara Development Project over an extensive area along the eastern section of the Sino-Indian boundary — an area stretching from Bhutan in the west to Rdza-yul in the east. This project included a military survey, construction of highways, military depots, airdrop strips and the dispatch of secret agents to the area.

British aggressive acts aroused bitter resistance from local inhabitants of the area. Meanwhile, Tibetan authorities repeatedly negotiated with or protested against the British government. They pointed out that Mon-yul, Lho-yul and Rdza-yul were Chinese territory and demanded that the British troops be pulled out from these places immediately and unconditionally. The British did not cease their encroachment.



In March 1947 an Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi, India. Tibet was invited to this conference as an independent country by India. At the conference, moreover, the standard of Tibetan Buddhism was deliberately used as "Tibet's national flag" and displayed with the national flags of other countries. In addition, Tibet was not included within China's boundaries on the map of Asia hanging in the conference hall. All this had evidently been designed so as to impose the image of Tibet as an independent country on members of the conference. It was only after the Chinese delegation lodged a serious protest did the presider of the conference amend matters.

## TIBETAN PATRIOTS MURDERED

Not long after the Asian Relations Conference the bloody Rva-sgreng incident occurred. When the three-year leave granted to the regent, Rva-sgreng, expired, the acting regent, Stag-brag, who was now controlled by the pro-British forces, refused to let Rva-sgreng resume office. About May of 1947 the pro-British conspirators spread rumours which falsely charged Rva-sgreng of colluding with the Kuomintang to overthrow Stag-brag. Rva-sgreng was thrown into jail. Sympathizing lamas of the Byes-pa Grva-tshang, a college in the Se-ra Monastery to which Rva-sgreng belonged, stormed into the city of Lhasa and clashed with the Tibetan troops. The fighting ended in defeat for the lamas and left more than 300 casualties for both sides. The victors retaliated by looting the Byes-pa Grva-tshang.

Fearing a larger armed rising, the pro-British forces hanged the jailed regent and persecuted the patriotic people around him. Even the father of the 14th Dalai was

poisoned to death. Thus, the Tibetan local government was completely under the control of the pro-British elements and they became more active in their attempt to sever Tibet from China.

## RISING POWER'S DESIGNS ON TIBET

When the persecution of the Tibetan patriots took place, World War II had ended. International as well as domestic situation had changed radically. While Britain had been greatly weakened by the war, the United States had become one of the leading powers in the world. Furthermore, the Indian people, following their victory in revolutionary struggle, declared their country independent in 1947. Consequently, Britain was not in a position to carry out its designs on Tibet. It could not but leave Tibet to the mercy of U.S. designs.

The United States had begun to take an interest in Tibet early in the Pacific War. Members of the U.S. monopoly capital class gave generous financial assistance to research institutes and universities to promote Tibetan studies. They also began collecting intelligence. In the summer of 1942, U.S. Secretary of State Hull instructed the U.S. embassy in China to collect information on Tibet. In September the U.S. Office of Strategic Services sent Captain Ilya Tolstoy and Second Lieutenant Brook Dolan to Tibet. They stayed in Lhasa for three months. Although their talks with the Tibetan authorities on the construction of an overland supply line in Tibet failed, they managed to obtain secret contacts with influential Tibetan officials to whom they expressed their full approval for "Tibet's cause of independence". On their return home, they suggested to the U.S. government that it should bypass the Chinese government and support Tibet in its desire for independence. Subsequently, in the latter half of 1943, the Office of Strategic Services sent Tibet a supply of arms and a set of radio equipment.



In May 1946 a Tibetan delegation, which professed to work for the consolidation of relations between Tibet and the United States, paid a visit to the U.S. ambassador in New Delhi. They brought gifts and messages from the Dalai and the Tibetan local government. A little over a year later, in July 1947, the Tibetan local government organized a trade mission headed by an official, Zhva-sgab-pa, to visit the United State, Britain and other countries for trade surveys and contacts. The U.S. Consul General in Hongkong gave the mission visas for the United States and ignored the fact that their travel had not been approved by the Chinese government.

The mission stayed in the United States for a couple of months. Then they flew to London and were received by the British Prime Minister Clement Attlee. Throughout their trip they voiced separatist ideas. Their ulterior purpose was to win international sympathy for Tibetan independence. However, their separatist activities proved of little avail.

## "HANS, GO HOME!" INCIDENT

In the spring of 1949 China's political situation underwent a radical change. The Chinese People's Liberation Army after defeating the main force of the Kuomintang army in the three major campaigns — the Liaoning-Shenyang, the Beiping-Tianjin and Huaihai campaigns — crossed the Changjiang (Yangtze) River and liberated Nanjing and Shanghai. The Kuoimntang crumbled rapidly, and its high-ranking military and civil officers fled south. The P.L.A. vanguard forces swept toward the southwest and northwest border areas. The liberation of the whole country was in sight.

At this time a handful of separatists in the Tibetan local government engineered a "Hans, go home!" incident. On July 8, 1949, the Tibetan authorities gave notice over the radio station at Kalimpong in India to the Kuomin-

tang personnel stationed in Tibet that they were to evacuate the region within two weeks. Afterwards, they raided the Kuomintang government's Lhasa office, closed down the Kuomintang radio station and schools and ordered all businessmen and lamas of Han nationality to leave Tibet by a specified time. Finally, all Kuomintang personnel and their families were forced to leave Tibet under armed escort. They returned home via India.

On September 2, 1949, China's Xinhua News Agency published an editorial entitled "We Will never Permit Foreign Aggressors to Seize Chinese Territory". The article reported the real intent and truth of the "Hans, go home!" incident and made clear the Chinese people's determination to liberate Tibet. "We Will never permit any foreign country to separate Tibet from China," it declared.

*Chapter XXI*

# TIBETANS' LIBERATION

The Chinese People's Liberation Army won a great, historic victory in 1949. It liberated all Chinese territory except Tibet, Taiwan and a few offshore islands. The founding of the People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1. That great event marks the end of the democratic revolution and the beginning of the socialist revolution in China. It ushered in a great era in Chinese history.

With the birth of New China, all the political, economic and cultural privileges imperialism enjoyed in China were abrogated and the reactionary Kuomintang rule over the Chinese people of all nationalities was overthrown. Simultaneously, the policy of national oppression and discrimination followed by the reactionary ruling class throughout the ages was scrapped and a community in which all nationalities are on an equal footing, live in fraternity and unity and assist each other was established.

## TIBETANS LONG FOR EMANCIPATION

When the People's Republic was founded, most of the Tibetan areas in the country were not yet liberated. The people in Tibet, in particular, were longing for the arrival of the P.L.A. to help bring an end to their sufferings, drive the imperialist forces out of their region and frustrate the scheme of the imperialists and separatists

to sever Tibet from China. On the very day of the birth of New China the Panchen Erdeni Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan sent a wire from Qinghai to Chairman Mao Zedong and Commander-in-Chief Zhu De in which he expressed his support for the central authorities and his eagerness for the achievement of the motherland's unification and Tibet's liberation at an early date. In a telegraphic reply Chairman Mao and Commander-in-Chief Zhu showed their appreciation for the Panchen's patriotic deed and encouraged him, together with all other patriotic people in Tibet, to contribute to the realization of that objective.

Subsequently, the patriotic people of Tibetan nationality in the interior provinces in gatherings or in the press voiced their desire for the central government's prompt dispatch of troops to liberate Tibet. They pinpointed the region as an integral part of Chinese territory and warned the imperialists to end all their aggressive designs on it.

Earlier, the series of victories the P.L.A. scored on the northwest China front were an encouragement to the Tibetan people in Gansu and Qinghai provinces, who had been eagerly looking forward to their emancipation. In August of 1949, the P.L.A. conquered Lanzhou, capital of Gansu. It captured Xining, capital of Qinghai, and other cities in early September. This news spread a wave of joy among the Tibetan communities throughout the province.

Similar victories were won in southwest China by the P.L.A. With the crossing over of the Kuomintang troops in Xikang and Yunnan to the P.L.A. in December 1949, these two areas were liberated peacefully. However, some Kuomintang troops broke into a Tibetan area in Xikang and entrenched themselves there. In 1950 a group of patriotic Tibetans in Xikang, headed by the Living Buddha Dge-rtags, wired the Central People's Government and sent emissaries to Beijing asking for a



speedy elimination of these troops. This the P.L.A. accomplised in March.

In wiping out the Kuomintang troops in the Tibetan areas in northwest and southwest China, the P.L.A. forces had the solid support of the Tibetans, who acted as guides, messengers or stretcher-bearers. They also helped with transport. When the victorious P.L.A. units marched through Tibetan communities, people lined the streets to give them a warm welcome or entertain them in every possible way.

## PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT WORK IN TIBETAN AREAS

During the early post-liberation period in the Tibetan areas, the people's government led the people in consolidating the gains of the revolution. This work included the wiping out of remnant bandits and enemy agents, the establishment of peace and order and of a democratic people's regime with representation of various nationalities, the publicizing and implementing of the government policies toward nationalities and religion, the strengthening of unity among all nationalities, the clearing up of misunderstandings between nationalities and the improvement of the people's living standards.

In Xikang Province a Tibetan autonomous region was set up in November 1950, which is now the Dkar-mdzes Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture. That was the first time that the Tibetans had gained the rights of national regional autonomy.

In the early days of liberation the people's government in the Tibetan areas gave publicity to the significance of friendship and unity among all nationalities, the policy on freedom of religious belief and the policy of respect for the customs of minority people. It effectively mediated misunderstandings and disputes between different nationalities that the ruling class through the ages had deliberately created for their own selfish ends.

## CENTRAL GOVERNMENT MISSION

In the latter half of 1950 a central government mission left the capital for minority areas in northwest and southwest China to express solicitude for the newly liberated people there. They were given a hearty welcome wherever they went. In Xiahe County in northwest China's Gansu Province, for instance, thousands of Tibetans flocked from all directions in rainy weather and waited in their improvised tents for the Beijing mission long before its arrival.

In the southwestern provinces the Tibetans expressed their love for the Chinese Communist Party to the visiting mission. They praised the Party for freeing them from privations and sufferings. The visiting mission investigated the living conditions of the Tibetans, fostered even better relations between the central government and the Tibetan people, and promoted friendship and unity between the Tibetan and other nationalities.

Through the mission's visit the Tibetan people gained a deep understanding of the Party's policy toward nationalities and began to feel the happiness of living in a community of all nationalities fraternizing and co-operating with each other.

## SEPARATIONISTS AGAINST TIBET'S LIBERATION

While the people in the Tibetan areas of northwest and southwest China provinces had their long-cherished desire for emancipation fulfilled, their compatriots in Tibet were still weighed down with sufferings. Taking into account the developments in Tibet and the desire of the whole Chinese people, the Central People's Government in 1950 issued an order for the liberation of the region. Concurrently, it notified the Tibetan local government to send a representative to Beijing for talks on the peaceful liberation of Tibet.



Nevertheless the separatists in the Tibetan ruling class opposed the peaceful liberation of Tibet. They deliberately delayed the journey of the Tibetan delegation who were abroad and were supposed to attend the proposed Beijing talks. Meanwhile, they bought large amounts of arms and munitions from abroad, expanded the Tibetan army and assembled troops at strategically-located Chab-mdo and Nag-chu in an attempt to block the P.L.A.'s advance. To all this the central authorities exercised great restraint, patiently waiting for the Tibetan authorities to change their stand.

In July 1950 the Living Buddha Dge-rtags, member of the Southwest China Military and Administrative Commission and Vice-Chairman of the Xikang Provincial People's Government, left Dkar-mdzes for Lhasa to persuade the Tibetan authorities to accept Tibet's peaceful liberation. Stopping over at Chab-mdo, Dge-rtags gave accounts to the local Tibetan people of how the P.L.A. men in the Tibetan areas in Xikang respected religious freedom of minority people, protected lamaseries and helped the people. He admonished the local headmen to cherish Tibetan-Han unity and assist the P.L.A. in its advance. Angered by his behaviour, the local reactionaries put him under house arrest and in the latter part of August poisoned him. This outrage infuriated the mass of the Tibetans and the rest of the Chinese people. They demanded punishment of the culprits and pledged their support for the P.L.A. in its march on Tibet.

To punish the reactionaries for their crime and remove obstructions to Tibet's peaceful liberation, the Central People's Government in October 1950 ordered the P.L.A. to advance on Chab-mdo. After wiping out a Tibetan main force of over 5,000 men, the P.L.A. conquered Chab-mdo. This victory was stunning blow to the imperialist designs to separate Tibet from China, and it shattered the Tibetan reactionaries' fond dream of preventing the liber-

ation of the region. It also paved the way for the peaceful liberation of the region.

## FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

At a time when the P.L.A. marched on Tibet triumphantly, the United States plotted to interfere, through the United Nations, with the liberation of the region. At U.S. instigation the "Tibetan mission" in India made an appeal, in the name of the "Tibetan National Assembly", to the U.N. They referred the Tibetan question to the latter for final verdict. Manipulated by the U.S., a motion was put forward by a third country at the U.N on interference with the Tibet question. Such acts were described by the *People's Daily* published in Beijing in a commentary as a glaring example of interfering with China's internal affairs and a violation of the U.N. Charter.

About the same time another foreign government on three occasions sent notes to the Chinese government. This again was interference with China's exercising of her sovereignty in sending troops into Tibet, which is part of her territory. In reply the Chinese Government rebuffed the note.

The firm stand of the Chinese Government on the Tibet question and particularly the P.L.A.'s resounding victory in the Chab-mdo battle threw the Tibetan ruling class into chaos. In the winter of 1950 the pro-imperialist clique headed by Stag-brag took the 14th Dalai under duress to the border town Yadong, where they were ready to defect abroad. This move instantly aroused a determined opposition from the mass of Tibetan people and the patriotic personages in the upper strata. In the spring of the next year the regent Stag-brag stepped down and the 14th Dalai took over. Thereupon, the Tibetan authorities, under pressure of the patriotic forces, sent a delegation, with Nga-phod Ngag-dbang 'jigs-med as its leader, to Beijing for negotiation on the peaceful liberation of Tibet. This spelled the failure of the efforts of foreign imperialism as well as domestic reactionaries to separate Tibet from China.



## AGREEMENT SIGNED FOR TIBET'S PEACEFUL LIBERATION

The Tibetan delegation arrived in Beijing in April 1951. They held talks with the Central People's Government representatives Li Weihan, Zhang Jingwu and others. In the course of the negotiation, which was under the personal guidance of Premier Zhou Enlai, central government leaders repeatedly met with the Tibetan representatives and explained away what misgivings they might have had. The negotiation proceeded very smoothly and it took only a little over a month for both sides to reach agreement. A 17-article "Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet" was signed on May 23, 1951.*

The signing of the agreement brought an epoch-making change in Tibetan history and the history of the relations between the Tibetan nationality and its motherland. It enabled the bitterly distressed Tibetan people to become free of imperialist aggression and shackles and return to the big family of the motherland composed of all its nationalities and to enjoy in full the rights to national equality and national regional autonomy. It serves as a new basis for unity among all nationalities, particularly between Han and Tibetan nationalities and between the Dalai and the Panchen; for Tibet's advances in the political, economic, cultural and educational fields, and for the improvement of the living standards of the Tibetan people.

The Agreement immediately drew warm response from

* Full text of the agreement is printed as an appendix on p. 184 of this book.

the Tibetans and the people of all other nationalities across the land. The recently emancipated Tibetans in the provinces of Gansu, Qinghai, Sichuan and Yunnan and the Chab-mdo area supported the P.L.A. in its imminent entry into Tibet. The people in all walks of life in Tibet, in particular, actively made preparations to welcome their own armed forces.

## TIBET LIBERATED

In August 1951 the P.L.A. launched an epic march on Tibet for its peaceful liberation in four different routes: Sichuan, Qinghai, Xinjiang and Yunnan. During their march the P.L.A. men and officers strictly observed discipline, adhered to the government policies toward nationalities and religion, publicized and acted in line with the provisions in the Agreement. Wherever they were billeted, they helped the local population do all kinds of jobs, took care of their needs and interests and the army medics attended to their sick free of charge. Such good deeds won the heart of the Tibetans. They praised the P.L.A. men as "Son and Brother Soldiers of the People" or "New-Type Hans". In many cases they honoured the armymen with the presentation of snow-white *hatas* (ceremonial scarfs) or fresh bouquets. Even faced with their own difficulties, they did all they could in support of the armymen. In the Chab-mdo area, for instance, the Tibetan people provided more than 400,000 pack animals for the P.L.A. forces to transport supplies, and bought for them more than half a million tons of food grain and some 583,000 pounds of butter. Likewise, in the areas inhabited by Tibetans and other minority people in Gansu, the people supplied tens of thousands of pack animals in addition to huge amounts of manpower and materials.

On the memorable day, October 26, 1951, the vanguard forces of the P.L.A. arrived in Lhasa after a long march replete with hardships and privations. Their arrival set



the whole city astir. More than 20,000 laymen and monks lined the streets in welcome.

In November of that year the people's army took over Rdza-yul, Rgyal-rtse, Gzhis-kha-rtse, Yadong, Mnga'-ris and other places. The five-star red flag, the Chinese national flag, flew as far as on the towering Himalayas.

On February 10, 1952 a military area command was inaugurated in Tibet in accordance with the agreement on the region's peaceful liberation. Thus, China's mainland has achieved unification and the southwest China border defence has been ensured.

Following the peaceful liberation of Tibet the people's government introduced a series of measures to help the Tibetan people in political, economic and cultural spheres and to improve their living standards. This brought about marked changes for the better in the region. In 1956 a Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet was established in preparation for the Tibetan people to exercise national regional autonomy. In September 1965 the Tibet Autonomous Region came into being following an all-round realization of democratic reform. Subsequently, a socialist revolution was carried out to achieve the socialist transformation of agriculture, animal husbandry, handicrafts and private commerce.

Today the Tibetan people, freed of centuries-old feudal exploitation and oppression as well as of imperialist penetration, are working with renewed vigour for the building of a socialist new Tibet and contributing to the nation-wide effort to modernize China.

# I

## The Tufan Kings
## 吐蕃赞普世系表

Gnam-ri-blon-btsan 寝日论赞 (Late 6th century)
Srong-btsan Sgam-po 松赞干布 (? - 650)
Mang-srong mang-btsan 芒松芒赞 (reigned 650-676)
'Dus-srong mang-po-rje 都松芒布结 (r.676-704)
Khri-Ide-gtsug-btsan 赤德祖赞 (r.704-755)
Khri-srong-Ide-btsan 赤松德赞 (r.742-797, 755-797)
Mu-ne btsan-po 牟尼赞普 (r.797-798)
Khri-Ide-srong-btsan 赤德松赞 (r.798-815)
Khri-gtsug-Ide-btsan 赤祖德赞 (r.815-838)
Dar-ma 达玛 (r.838-842)

## II

## The Dalai Lamas
## 达赖喇嘛世系表

1. Dge-'dun grub 根敦主 (1391-1474)
2. Dge-'dun rgya-mtsho 根敦嘉措 (1475-1542)
3. Bsod-nams rgya-mtsho 索南嘉措 (1543-1588)
4. Yon-tan rgya-mtsho 云丹嘉措 (1589-1616)
5. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho 阿旺罗桑嘉措 (1617-1682)
6. Tshangs-dbyangs rgya-mtsho 仓央嘉措 (1683-1706)
7. Bskal-bzang rgya-mtsho 噶桑嘉措 (1708-1757)
8. 'Jam-dpal rgya-mtsho 降白嘉措 (1758-1804)
9. Lung-rtogs rgya-mtsho 隆朵嘉措 (1805-1815)
10. Tshul-khrims rgya-mtsho 楚臣嘉措 (1816-1837)
11. Mkhas-grub rgya-mtsho 凯朱嘉措 (1838-1855)
12. 'Phrin-las rgya-mtsho 成烈嘉措 (1856-1875)
13. Thub-bstan rgya-mtsho 土丹嘉措 (1876-1933)
14. Bstan-'dzin rgya-mtsho 丹增嘉措 (1934- )



## III

## The Panchen Erdenis
## 班禅额尔德尼世系表

1. Mkhas-grub-rje Dge-legs dpal-bzang 克主杰格雷贝桑 (1385-1438)
2. Bsod-nams phyogs-glang 索南乔朗 (1439-1504)
3. Blo-bzang don-grub 罗桑敦朱 (1505-1566)
4. Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan 罗桑却吉坚赞(1567-1662)
5. Blo-bzang ye-shes 罗桑意希 (1663-1737)
6. Blo-bzang dpal-Idan ye-shes 罗桑贝丹意希 (1738-1780)
7. Bstan-pa'i nyi-ma 丹必尼玛 (1782-1853)
8. Bstan-pa'i dbang-phyug 丹必旺秋 (1854-1882)
9. Chos-kyi nyi-ma 却吉尼玛 (1883-1937)
10. Chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan 却吉坚赞 (1938- )

# IV

## The Agreement of the Central People's Government and the Local Government of Tibet on Measures for the Peaceful Liberation of Tibet

*The historic agreement bringing about the peaceful Liberation of Tibet was signed in Peking [Beijing] on May 23, 1951 in the former Imperial Palace. The following is the full text:*

The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China and, like many other nationalities, it has performed its glorious duty in the course of the creation and development of our great Motherland. But over the last 100 years or more, imperialist forces penetrated into China, and in consequence also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations. Like previous reactionary governments, the Kuomintang reactionary government continued to carry out a policy of oppressing and sowing dissension among the nationalities, causing division and disunity among the Tibetan people. And the Local Government of Tibet did not oppose the imperialist deceptions and provocations, and adopted an unpatriotic attitude towards our great Motherland. Under such conditions, the Tibetan nationality and people were plunged into the depths of enslavement and suffering.

In 1949, basic victory was achieved on a nation-wide scale in the Chinese People's War of Liberation; the common domestic enemy of all nationalities — the Kuomintang reactionary government — was overthrown; and the



common foreign enemy of all the nationalities — the aggressive imperialist forces — was driven out. On this basis, the founding of the People's Republic of China and of the Central People's Government was announced. In accordance with the *Common Programme* passed by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Central People's Government declared that all nationalities within the boundaries of the People's Republic of China are equal, and that they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies, so that the People's Republic of China will become a big fraternal and co-operative family, composed of all its nationalities; that within the big family of all nationalities of the People's Republic of China, national regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated, and all national minorities shall have freedom to develop their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their customs, habits and religious beliefs, while the Central People's Government shall assist all national minorities to develop their political, economic, cultural and educational construction work. Since then, all nationalities within the country, with the exception of those in the areas of Tibet and Taiwan, have gained liberation. Under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government and the direct leadership of higher levels of People's Governments, all national minorities are fully enjoying the right of national equality and have established, or are establishing, national regional autonomy.

In order that the influences of aggressive imperialist forces in Tibet might be successfully eliminated, the unification of the territory and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China accomplished, and national defence safeguarded; in order that the Tibetan nationality and people might be freed and return to the big family of the People's Republic of China to enjoy the same rights of national equality as all the other nationalities in the

country and develop their political, economic, cultural and educational work, the Central People's Government, when it ordered the People's Liberation Army to march into Tibet, notified the Local Government of Tibet to send delegates to the central authorities to conduct talks for the conclusion of an agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet.

In the latter part of April 1951, the delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet arrived in Peking. The Central People's Government appointed representatives with full powers to conduct talks on a friendly basis with the delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet. As a result of these talks, both parties agreed to conclude this agreement and guarantee that it will be carried into effect.

1. The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist aggressive forces from Tibet; the Tibetan people shall return to the big family of the Motherland — the People's Republic of China.

2. The Local Government of Tibet shall actively assist the People's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defence.

3. In accordance with the policy towards nationalities laid down in the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference* the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Central People's Government.

4. The central authorities will not alter the existing political system in Tibet. The central authorities also will not alter the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama. Officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual.

5. The established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Ngoerhtehni shall be maintained.

6. By the established status, functions and powers of the Dalai Lama and of the Panchen Ngoerhtehni are



meant the status, functions and powers of the 13th Dalai Lama and of the 9th Panchen Ngoerhtehni when they were in friendly and amicable relations with each other.

7. The policy of freedom of religious belief laid down in the *Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference* shall be carried out. The religious beliefs, customs and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected, and lama monasteries shall be protected. The central authorities will not effect a change in the income of the monasteries.

8. Tibetan troops shall be reorganised by stages into the People's Liberation Army, and bocome a part of the national defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

9. The spoken and written language and school education of the Tibetan nationality shall be developed step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

10. Tibetan agriculture, livestock raising, industry and commerce shall be developed step by step, and the people's livelihood shall be improved step by step in accordance with the actual conditions in Tibet.

11. In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the central authorities. The Local Government of Tibet should carry out reforms of its own accord, and when the people raise demands for reform, they shall be settled by means of consultation with the leading personnel of Tibet.

12. In so far as former pro-imperialist and pro-Kuomintang officials resolutely sever relations with imperialism and the Kuomintang and do not engage in sabotage or resistance, they may continue to hold office irrespective of their past.

13. The People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall abide by all the above-mentioned policies and shall also be fair in all buying and selling and shall not arbitrarily take a single needle or thread from the people.

14. The Central People's Government shall conduct the centralised handling of all external affairs of the area

of Tibet; and there will be peaceful co-existence with neighbouring countries and establishment and development of fair commercial and trading relations with them on the basis of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territory and sovereignty.

15. In order to ensure the implementation of this agreement, the Central People's Government shall set up a military and administrative committee and a military area headquarters in Tibet, and apart from the personnel sent there by the Central People's Government shall absorb as many local Tibetan personnel as possible to take part in the work.

Local Tibetan personnel taking part in the military and administrative committee may include patriotic elements from the Local Government of Tibet, various districts and leading monasteries; the name-list shall be drawn up after consultation between the representatives designated by the Central People's Government and the various quarters concerned, and shall be submitted to the Central People's Government for appointment.

16. Funds needed by the military and administrative committee, the military area headquarters and the People's Liberation Army entering Tibet shall be provided by the Central People's Government. The Local Government of Tibet will assist the People's Liberation Army in the purchase and transport of food, fodder and other daily necessities.

17. This agreement shall come into force immediately after signatures and seals are affixed to it.

Signed and sealed by:

Delegates with full powers of the Central People's Government:

Chief Delegate:

*Li Wei-han*

Delegates:

*Zhang Jing-wu*



*Zhang Guo-hua*

*Sun Zhi-yuan*

Delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet:

Chief Delegate:

*Kaloon Ngabou Ngawang Jigme*

Delegates:

*Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdi*

*Khentrung Thupten Tenthar*

*Khenchung Thupten Lekmuun*

*Rimshi Samposey Tenzin Thundup*

Peking, May 23, 1951.

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